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THE TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.



THE TABAQĀT-I-AKBARĪ  
OF  
KHWĀJAH NIZĀMUDDĪN AḤMAD

(A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLY MUSALMĀN  
INVASIONS TO THE THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF  
THE REIGN OF AKBAR)

VOLUME I

TRANSLATED BY  
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#### NOTE.

For reasons, which it is not necessary to mention here, my work remained in abeyance till I was induced to take it up again in the latter part of 1925. I have now completed the first volume which ends with the fall of the Afghan kings of Delhi.

I must acknowledge here, the cordial co-operation of Mr. Johan van Manen, the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the help I have received from Shams-ul-'Uloom Mawlana Hidayat Hosain, the Joint Philological Secretary.

B. DE.

*September 1927.*



( VI )

ERRATA.

Page	17.	line	- 32.	for	"Maḥmūd"	read	"Mas'ūd."
„	59.	„	1. n. 3.	„	"these"	„	"the."
„	95.	„	5.	„	"thesons"	„	"the sons."
„	109.	„	3.	„	"Sunam"	„	"Sunām."
„	158.	„	9.	„	"conquered"	„	"reconquered."
„	164.	„	2.	„	"remaided"	„	"remained."
„	167.	„	2 & 3, n. 1.	„	باصير	„	اصير
„	178.	„	25.	„	"Tartak"	„	"Tartāk."
„	179.	„	3.	„	"	„	"
„	354.	„	12.	„	"4188"	„	"1488."

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## PREFACE.

This is a translation of the *Tabakāt-i-Ākbari*, of which I have attempted to make out a correct text, by collating the lithographed Edition published from the press of Munshi Newal Kishore of Lucknow, and three manuscripts, two of which were obtained from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the third from the Palace Library of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad. I have referred to the two former as MS. A and MS. C and to the latter as MS. B. The lithographed edition and the MSS. vary in many places. I have adopted the readings which appeared to me to be the most correct.

B. DE.

CALCUTTA :  
22nd July, 1911.



## TABAḲĀT-I-ĀKBARĪ: ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

### INTRODUCTION.

The sublimest praise is due to that true King who has placed the making and unmaking of the government of the world, and the regulation of the affairs of the human race, in the noble existence of just rulers and wise administrators; and has treasured and entrusted the task of maintaining and enforcing the laws of religion and government in the greatness and grace, the generosity and sternness, and the mercy and wrath of these great men. And may prayers high as the throne of God rest on the leaders of the Caravans that follow the straight path, and guide the foolish wanderers in the darkness of infidelity to the brilliant spaces of truth, and lead those who wander in the wilderness of confusion to the haven of fulfilment, by the aid of the glory of the Divine light and the help of the refulgence of the Divine nature; and specially on that most perfect specimen of creation, and that final embodiment of Divine aid and inspiration, whose sublime nature is a part of the Divine light, and whose noble essence a portion of God's holiness; of whose light the earth and the sky are a shadow, and of whose essence all space and creation a reflection; and [may similar prayers rest] on those who travel along the highway of his will, and following him step by step reach the vantage ground of union.

But, after that, this insignificant particle—Nizāmuddīn Āḥmad, the son of Muḥammad Muḥim the Harawī, who is a humble dependent and a faithful adherent of the sublime Court of the great Emperor, the Sultan of the Sultans of the world, the beneficent shadow of God, the vicerent of the Omnipotent, the strengthener of the pillars of world-conquest, the founder of the rules for governing the world, the ruler of the world and of all who inhabit it, the lord of all time and of all that exists in it, the embodiment of Divine secrets, the personification of spiritual essences, the most potent conqueror and the most successful ruler; the lion in the wilderness of political and religious warfare, Abū Fateḥ Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Ākbar Bādshāh Ghāzī; may God perpetuate his dominion and empire, and fill the table of his justice and beneficence!—

represents that from his childhood, according to the instructions of his worthy father, he occupied himself with the study of historical works, which brightens the intellect of the studious, and inspires the intelligent with awe; and by the study of the accounts of the travellers in the stages of the journey of existence, which is like a progress of the soul, rubbed off the rust of his nature.

And in this great land of Hindustan, which is a vast continent containing many climes, and which those who have calculated the area of the earth have estimated to contain a fourth part of its surface, at various times and in different quarters various rulers have acquired power and dominion, and having styled themselves Sultans, have ruled the land; and the writers of those periods having described the conquests and the government of those quarters have left memorials of them. In this way there are histories of Dehli, Gujarāt, Mālwah, Bangālah, and Sind; and similarly separate histories have been written of all the provinces and parts of Hindustan. It is wonderful (however) that no history has been written by any of these writers which contains a complete account of the events which have occurred in any one of the provinces. Nor has any history been compiled of the whole country of India and of its capital Dehli. The only work which has acquired any fame is the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* in which Minhāj has given an account of the period which begins with the reign of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Ghūri and ends with that of Nāsiruddīn, the son of Shamsuddīn. Again the period from the reign of Sultan Nāsiruddīn to that of Sultan Firoz has been dealt with in the history of Zīā Barni. For the period extending from the reign of Sultan Firoz to the present day, during the greater portion of which great disturbances have taken place in this country, and the people have not had the good fortune to be ruled by any great kings, the humble writer has in spite of repeated searches only come across fragmentary compilations; and has not heard of any history which contains an account of the whole of Hindustan.

Now that all the Provinces and Divisions of Hindustan have been conquered by the world-opening sword of His Majesty, the vicerent of God, and the many have been unified into the one, and even many of the countries outside of India, which had never been acquired by any of the former great Sultans have become part and

## INTRODUCTION.

parcel of his dominions, and it is hoped, that the seven climes would become the abode of peace and quiet under the shadow of His Majesty's auspicious standard, it came to the dull understanding of the author, that he should, with the pen of truth and candour, write a comprehensive history which should present in a clear style, in its different sections, an account of the Empire of Hindustan from the time of Sabuktigin which began with the year 367<sup>1</sup> A.H., when Islam first appeared in the country of Hindustan, to the year 1001<sup>2</sup> A.H., corresponding with the thirty-seventh year of the Divine era, which was inaugurated at the epoch-making accession of His Majesty, the vicegerent of God; and should embellish the end of each section with the story of the victories of His Majesty's glorious army, which is as it were an introduction to the sublime chronicle of renown; then he should give a comprehensive account of all the victories and events and occurrences of His Majesty's reign each in its own place. The details of these events are contained in the great history called the *Ākbar-nāmah*, which that embodiment of all excellence, the learned in all truths and knowledge, the personification of worldly and spiritual perfection, the favoured of his Majesty the Emperor, the most erudite Sheikh Abul Fazl who is the preface of all excellence and eminence has written with his wonder-inscribing pen, and has made a chronicle for all times.

The names of the Historical works which have been referred to in the compilation of this work are the *Tārīkh-i-Yemīnī*, the *Tārīkh-i-Zain-ul-Akbār*, the *Rauzat-us-safa*, the *Tāj-ul-māāsir*, the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri*, the *Khazāin-ul-Fatuh*, the *Tughlakanāmah*, the *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhi* of Zia Barni, the *Fatuhāt-i-Firozshāhi*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, the *Tārīkh-i-Fatuh-i-Salātin*, the *Ma'asir-Muhammad-Shāhi-Gujarāti*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd-Shāhi-Māndvi*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd-Shāhi-Khurd-Māndvi*, the *Tabakāt-i-Mahmud-Shāhi-Gujarāti*, the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur-Shāhi*, the *Tārīkh-i-*

<sup>1</sup> Sabuktigin became chief of Ghaznin in this year 367. A.H. corresponding with A.D. 977, but he did not begin to invade Hindustan till ten years afterwards, A.D. 986-987.

<sup>2</sup> So in MSS. A and C and in the lithographed edition, MS. B gives the year 1002 A.H.



Bahmani, the *Tārīkh-i-Nāsiri*, the *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, the *Tārīkh-i-Mirza-Haidar-Kashmiri*, the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, the *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, the *Tārīkh-i-Bābari*, the *Wākaiāt-i-Bābari*, the *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhi*, the *Wākaiāt Mushtāki*, the *Wākaiāt* of His Majesty the nestling of Paradise, Humāyūn Bādshāh, may God illuminate his tomb !

As this compilation contains sections about all the rulers of Hindustan, and the noble section about His Majesty the vicegerent of God is at the end of the other sections, it has been called the *Tabakāt-i-Ākbar Shāhi*, and it is a beautiful coincidence that the word *Nizāmī* which contains a reference to the name of the compiler gives the date of the compilation. It is hoped that this chronicle of the wonderful events will add to the information of the intelligent and the welfare of the writer.

The work will comprise one introductory section,<sup>1</sup> nine sections, and one conclusion. The introductory section will contain an account of the Kings of Ghaznīn from the commencement of the reign of Sabuktigin in the year 367 A.H. to the year 582 A.H., a period of two hundred and fifteen years with fifteen kings. The nine sections will be (1) the section about Dehli from the beginning of the reign of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Ghūrī, who first conquered the territory of Dehli and stationed rulers there, to the auspicious reign of His majesty, the vicegerent of God, in which there have been thirty-six Kings, and which began with the year 574 A.H. and ends with the year 1002 A.H., a period of four hundred and forty-eight<sup>2</sup> years; (2) the section about the Dakin in which there were thirty-six Kings from the year 748 A.H. to the year 1002 A.H., a period of two hundred and fifty-four years; (3) the section about Gujarāt, the Kings of which, sixteen in number, reigned from the year 793 A.H. to the year 980 A.H., a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years; (4) the section about Bangālāh where there were twenty-one Kings during a period of one hundred and ninety-eight years, from the year 741 A.H. to the year 939 A.H.;

<sup>1</sup> There are slight differences in the sequence of the sections and in the periods during which the kingdoms lasted in the MSS. collated and in the lithographed edition.

<sup>2</sup> The number of years from 574 to 1002 comes to 428, but the MSS. as well as the lithographed edition read 448 years.

(5) the section about Jounpore where there were five Kings during a period of ninety-seven years; (6) the section about Málwah in which there were twelve Kings during a period of one hundred and fifty-eight years; (7) the section about Kashmir with twenty-six Kings during a period of two hundred and forty-five years; (8) the section about Sind with twenty-one Kings during a period of two hundred and thirty-six years; and (9) the section about Multān where there were five Kings during a period of eighty years. The concluding section will contain a description of certain peculiarities about Hindustan and various miscellaneous matters.



**THE INTRODUCTORY SECTION: CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE KINGS OF GHAZNIN.<sup>1</sup>**

**The Kings were—**

1. Sultan Nāsiruddin Sabuktigin, who reigned for twenty years.
2. Sultan Mahmūd Yemīnuddowlah, who reigned for thirty-five years.
3. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Mahmūd, whose reign lasted for fifty days.
4. Sultan Mas'ūd, son of Sultan Mahmūd, who reigned for eleven years.
5. Sultan Maudud, son of Sultan Mas'ūd, whose reign lasted for nine years.
6. Sultan Muhammad, son of Maudud, whose reign lasted for only five days.
7. Sultan 'Ali, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for only three months.
8. 'Abdur Rashid, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for four years.
9. Farrukh Nizād, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for six years.
10. Ibrahim, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for thirty years, and according to some, for forty-two years.
11. Mas'ūd, son of Ibrahim, who ruled for sixteen years.
12. Arslān Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for three years.
13. Bahrām Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, who ruled for thirty-five years.
14. Khusrō Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, who ruled for eight years.
15. Khusrō Malik, son of Khusrō Shāh, who ruled for twenty-eight years.

<sup>1</sup> The names of the Kings have been given with some differences in the MSS. collated and in the lithographed edition, MS. B gives an extremely confused and incorrect list, MS. C only contains twelve names.

## I. ĀMİR NĀSIRUDDIN SABUKTIGIN.

He was a slave of Turkish descent, belonging to Alb-tigin, who in his turn was a slave of Āmir Maṣṣūr, the son of Nūh, the Sāmānī, who attained to the rank of 'Āmir ul Umrā in the service of the latter. During the time when Āmir Maṣṣūr flourished Āmir Nāsiruddīn came to Bukhārā, in the company of Abu Is-hāk, the son of Alb-tigin; and in his service, attained to the rank of his agent. When Abu Is-hāk became the governor of Ghaznī, as Deputy of Āmir Maṣṣūr, he left the work of the government in the hands of Āmir Nāsiruddīn, whose rule acquired complete stability and strength. When Abu Is-hāk departed to the other world, leaving no heir behind him, the army and the people consented to the rule of 'Āmir Nāsiruddīn and swore allegiance to him. He then commenced the work of government with great energy, and raised the standard of conquest.

In the year 367 A.H. Tughān, who had been the ruler of the territory of Bast, but had been dispossessed by a man of the name of Pātiūz, came to Āmir Nāsiruddīn and besought him for help. Āmir Nāsiruddīn advanced with his troops, wrested Bast from Pātiūz, and made it over to Tughān; who agreed to pay a large tribute, and entered into an engagement that he would never stray from the path of allegiance. He afterwards broke the engagement, and Āmir Nāsiruddīn dispossessed him of the territory, and left his own agent there.

As the fort of Kūdār was in the neighbourhood of his territory, and its ruler asserted his independence, Āmir Nāsiruddīn suddenly surprised him, and made him prisoner; but in the end placed him

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* Alb-tigin was the Amīr-i-hajib or Lord Chamberlain of Maṣṣūr (see *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* translation, p. 71).

<sup>2</sup> Is-hāk was succeeded by Amīr Balkātigin, who ruled for ten years according to the text of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*. It appears however that Is-hāk died in 355 A.H. and Balkātigin in 362 A.H., so that the rule of the latter lasted only for seven years. On the death of Balkātigin, Pīrēy another slave of Alb-tigin succeeded to the government, but he was deposed in 367 A.H. when the government passed to Sabuktigin (see *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* trans., pp. 72-73).

in the ranks of his servants; and confirmed him in the government of Kuddās.

After this, with kingly energy and determination, he girded up his loins for a war of religion, and invaded Hindustan, and carried away many prisoners of war and other plunder; and in every country, which he conquered, he founded mosques; and he endeavoured to ruin and desolate the territories of Rājā Jaipāl who, at that time, was the ruler of Hindustan. Jaipāl being much distressed by the invasion of his Kingdom, and the desolation brought on it thereby, attacked Āmr Nāsiruddin with a well-equipped army, in which there were many huge elephants. The Āmr advanced to meet him, and encountered him near the boundary of his own territory. A bloody battle ensued, in which Āmr Mahmūd, the son of Āmr Nāsiruddin, showed much courage and great heroism. The two armies remained, confronting each other for some days, during which, several sanguinary conflicts occurred. They say, that there was a spring in that neighbourhood, into which if by any chance any dirt or filth was cast, storm arose and heavy snow and rain fell. Āmr Mahmūd ordered that filth might be thrown into the spring, and when this was done, there was much wind, and a heavy fall of snow; and Jaipāl's troops, who were not accustomed to the cold, suffered much distress, and many horses and other animals died. Jaipāl in great distress struck the door of peace, and it was settled that he should send fifty elephants and much treasure to Āmr Nāsiruddin; and should leave some of his trusted followers as hostages; and should take with him some of the trusted adherents of Āmr Nāsiruddin; so that he might make over to them the treasure and the elephants.

When, however, he reached his own country he broke his engagement, and imprisoned the agents of Āmr Nāsiruddin, in retaliation, for the imprisonment of the men whom he had left as hostages. When Āmr Nāsiruddin heard this, he advanced with his troops, with the determination of taking a signal revenge. Jaipāl sought the help of the other Rājās of Hindustan, and collecting about a hundred thousand mounted troops and many elephants, advanced to meet him, and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Lamghān, and a great battle took place. Āmr Nāsiruddin was victorious; and much booty, in the shape of prisoners of war and

elephants, and treasure, fell into his hands. Jaipāl fled into Hindustan, and the Lamghān country came into the possession of Āmir Nāsiruddīn, and his name was inserted in the prayers, and impressed on the coinage of that country.

After this, he went to assist Āmir Nuh, the son of Maṣṣūr, the Sāmānī; and in Khurāsān, and in Māwar-un-nahar, he gained many victories; and in the month of Sh'abān in the year 387 A.H. he said 'here I am.' to the summons of the great God. The period of his rule extended over twenty years.

## II. SULTĀN MAHMŪD SABUKTIGIN.

After the death of Sabuktigin, Āmir Ismail, who<sup>1</sup> was his eldest son, sat in his place, and wished to deprive Āmir Mahmūd of his heritage, but the latter vanquished him, and succeeded his father. He marched his armies towards Balkh, and brought the country of Khurāsān under his rule. When he had cleared that country of the weeds and thorns of his enemies, and the sound of the kettle-drum of his greatness had spread in all directions, the Caliph of Baghdād, Al-ḡadir-Billah Abbasi, sent him a robe of honour, more splendid than any which had been previously sent by any Caliph to any Bādshāh, and conferred on him the title of Āmir-ul-millat wa Yemin-ud-Dowlat.<sup>1</sup>

In the latter part of Zi-il-ḡ'ād 390 A.H. the Sultān went from Balkh<sup>2</sup> to Hirāt, and from there he went to Sistān,<sup>3</sup> and having

<sup>1</sup> So in the MSS. and in the lithographed edition, but the name and titles as given in the Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 75, are Sultān ul-'Āsam Yemin-ud-Dowlah Nizāmuddīn Abul Kāsim Mahmūd-i-Ghāzi. The titles of Sultan and Yemin-ud-Dowlah he received from the Caliph of Baghdād, when he received the robe of honour as mentioned below. But according to another version, he was first addressed as Sultān by Khalaf, when the latter was brought before him, after he had taken the fortress of Tāk in Sijistan by assault. Mahmud, it is said, was so pleased, that he spared Khalaf's life.

<sup>2</sup> In the previous year 389 A.H. Mahmūd fought a battle against 'Abdul Mulk son of Nūh Sāmānī. Shortly after this the Sāmānī dynasty terminated; and the independence of Mahmūd may be dated from this year. Sabuktigin had made Balkh his capital some time before this; and it was at this time the capital of Mahmūd's dominions. It appears however that he made Ghaznīn his capital soon afterwards, as from 392 A.H. he appears to have started in his expeditions from Ghaznīn, and returned there in the spring.

<sup>3</sup> Also called Sijistan. Mahmūd captured the fortress of Tāk by assault and made Khalaf prisoner.

defeated Khalaf the son of Ahmad, the ruler of that country, brought him to Ghaznīn. From Ghaznīn he turned his attention to Hindustan; seized a few fortresses and returned.

He then entered into an alliance with Ailak Khān,<sup>1</sup> and it was settled between them, that Māwar-un-nahar should belong to Āilak Khān, and all the rest to the Sultan.

In the month of Shawwāl 391 A.H. the Sultan again invaded Hindustan from Ghaznīn, and with ten thousand horsemen attacked Parshāvar.<sup>2</sup> Rājā Jaipāl with ten or twelve thousand horsemen, a large number of foot soldiers, and three hundred elephants, advanced to meet him, and arrayed his troops in the field of battle. The two armies fought with each other and showed much gallantry, but in the end, victory fell to Sultān Mahmūd. Rājā Jaipāl, with fifteen of his sons and brothers, was taken prisoner, and five thousand of the infidels were slain in the battle. It is said that Jaipāl wore round his neck a jewelled necklace, which is called a *Mālā* in the language of Hindustan, which experts valued at one hundred and eighty thousand *Dinārs*, and there were also necklaces of great value round the necks of his brothers. This battle took place on Saturday the 8th Muharram 392 A.H. From that place the Sultān went to Bahinda,<sup>3</sup> which was the place of residence of Jaipāl, and conquered that country; and in the spring returned to Ghaznīn.

In the Muharram of 393 A.H. he again went to Sīstān, and having again defeated Khalaf brought him to Ghaznīn. He then again invaded Hindustan, and with the object of seizing Bhātiāh, he marched through the territory of Multan and encamped in front of Bhātiāh. Bahira, Raja of that place, who was proud of his large army, the number of his elephants and the strength of his fortress, left his troops to oppose the Sultān, and went himself with a few

<sup>1</sup> This appears to have taken place in 396 A.H. when Sultan Mahmūd sent an envoy to Ailak Khān, the Turk, son of Baghra Khān, proposing the alliance, and the division of territory. The Sāmāni dynasty had now ceased to exist, the last representative having been put to death.

<sup>2</sup> There is much doubt as to whether this is identical with the modern Peshawar, because the latter city was generally called Bagram up to the time of Bābar and Akbar.

<sup>3</sup> This place has been identified by Major Raverty with Bathinda situated in the S.W. corner of Patiala territory. (See note 2, p. 76, of his trans. of the *Tabi-Nāma*.)



followers to the bank of the Sind or Indus river. When the Sultān came to know this, he sent some troops to attack the Raja, and the latter being surrounded by these troops, put an end to his existence by stabbing himself with his dagger; and his head was brought to the Sultan. The Sultan put many of his adherents to the sword, and having acquired much plunder in the shape of prisoners and elephants, and the delicate products of Hindustan, returned to Ghaznīn. Among the booty, there were two hundred and eighty elephants.

It is said that as Dāud the son of Naṣr, the ruler of Multān, belonged to the sect of the Mulāhida, the Sultan was incited by his zeal for religion to punish him. He therefore advanced towards Multan; and with the object of taking him by surprise took a contrary or roundabout route. Ānandpāl, the son of Jaipāl, who had to be passed, opposed his march, and the Sultan ordered his troops to give him battle and devastate and plunder his country. Ānandpāl being discomfited fled to the mountains of Kashmir, and the Sultan marching along the Indus<sup>1</sup> reached Multan which he besieged for seven days. The ruler of Multan agreed to pay an annual tribute of twenty thousand dirams, and engaged to follow the dictates of true religion and foreswore his errors. The Sultān having entered into a treaty with him on these terms returned to Ghaznīn. This happened in the year 396 A.H.

In the year 397 A.H. he was occupied with warfare with the Turks, as is mentioned in more comprehensive histories, and when in Rabi'ul Ākhar 398 A.H. he became disengaged from that war with victory and renown, intelligence was received that Sukhpal, the grandson of the Rāja of Hindustan, who had been taken prisoner by Abu 'Ali Simjuri and had accepted Islam at his hands, had taken the path of recusancy and had fled. Sultān Mahmūd pursued him, and having captured him put him in prison, and he died in captivity.

In the year 399 A.H. the Sultan invaded India again, and having fought with and defeated Ānandpāl took thirty elephants and much other booty from him. He then went to Bhīmāgar,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is not clear. The lithographed edition and MSS. B and C have سند نهر while MS. A has سند نهر. I have adopted the latter reading.

<sup>2</sup> The same as Kangra or Nagar Kōṭ.

besieged it. Those in the fort made their submission and opened the gates. The Sultan with a few chosen companions went into the fort and seizing the treasure and the silver, and gold and diamonds, which had been gathered together from the time of Bhîm, returned. He ordered that some thrones of gold and silver should be placed in front of his pavilion, and all the treasure should be thrown in an extensive plain so that the soldiers and the people were struck with wonder at the sight of them. This happened in the beginning of the year 400 A.H.

Again in the year 401 A.H. the Sultan, defender of the faith, marched from Ghaznîn and took possession of the part of the Multan territory which he had not previously conquered, and he put most of the schismatics and heretics who were there to the sword, and he cut off the hands of some, and ordered others to be imprisoned in a fort where they died; and this year he took Daud, the son of Naar, to Ghaznîn and sent him to the fort of Ghurak, where he was imprisoned and where he afterwards died.

The Sultan now received information that there was a city in Hindustan called Thanessar, and there was a great temple there in which there was an idol called Jagarsom, whom the people of Hindustan worshipped. He collected a large force with the object of carrying on a religious war, and in the year 402 A.H. marched towards Thanessar. The son<sup>1</sup> of Jaipâl having received intelligence of this, sent an envoy and represented through him, that if the Sultân would relinquish this enterprise, he would send fifty elephants as tribute. The Sultan paid no heed to this offer, and when he reached Thanessar he found the city empty. The soldiers ravaged and plundered whatever they could lay hands upon, broke the idols and carried Jagarsom to Ghaznîn. The Sultan ordered that the idol should be placed in front of the place of prayer, so that the people would trample upon it.

In the year 403 A.H. the Sultân conquered Qharjistân<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The readings vary; the different readings being "Jaipâl," "the son of Jaipâl" and "Naro Jaipâl," which is probably meant for Trilochanpâl the grandson of Jaipâl.

<sup>2</sup> The country is called Qharjistân by some. In the lithographed edition no name or title of the ruler is given. In MSS. A & B the title is given as *Shar*, and in MS. C as *Sharîr*. It would appear from MSS. A & B, that the

brought the ruler of that country, who was styled the Shār, prisoner with him, and at the end of that year Abul Fawāris, the son of Baha-ud-dowla, sought the protection of Sultân Mahmūd from the tyranny of his brothers. The Sultân wrote letters to them, so that peace was established among them.

The same year an envoy came from the ruler of Egypt, who was called Thārti.<sup>1</sup> The learned men and the great lawyers told the Sultân that this envoy held the tenets of the Qarāmīta.<sup>2</sup> The Sultân accordingly ordered him to be denounced and driven out of his dominions.

In the year 404 A.H. the Sultân marched against the fort of Nandanah which is situated among the Bālnāth hills. Naro Jaipāl<sup>3</sup> left tried warriors for the protection of the fort, and went himself into the valley of Kashmir. The Sultân on arrival at Nandanah surrounded the fort and began to run mines and to take all other measures which were necessary for its capture. The people in the fort surrendered it, on receiving assurances for their safety. Sultân Mahmūd entered the fort with a few of his personal attendants, and took away all the treasures and valuable articles which were there, and appointing Sarigh to be the Kotwāl or Superintendent of the fort, turned his face towards the valley of Kashmir, where Naro Jaipal was. The latter fled from that place also, and the Sultan entering the valley carried away much booty, in the shape of prisoners of war and gold, and after converting many of the infidels to Islam, and laying the foundations of Islam, went back to Ghaznin.

trans. of the Tab-i-Nās. that the particular Shar who was defeated by Mahmud was named Abu Naṣr, the son of the Shār Rashid.

<sup>1</sup> The lithographed edition calls him Mahārathi and the three MSS. A, B and C calls him Tharti, Farti and Niharni.

<sup>2</sup> The lithographed edition and MSS. give different readings. The lithographed edition says بر مذهب قرامط است. MS. A says بر مذهب با طالبان است. MS. B has بر مذهب باطنیانست. MS. C tries to simplify matters by saying بر مذهب سلطان نهرود.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> MS. C gives a different reading of the passage. It reads—“and Jaipāl who had previously been made a prisoner, and was now engaged in company with the Sultân, in endeavouring to capture the fort, made great efforts to capture it, and finding a suitable opportunity, and the Sultan's men negligent, fled

Again in the year 406 A.H. the Sultan advanced into Kashmir, and besieged the fort of Lohkot<sup>1</sup> which was celebrated for its height and strength; but there was much wind and snow, and the winter became severe, and the Kashmirians received reinforcements, so he abandoned the siege; and in the spring returned to Ghazna.

The same year<sup>2</sup> Abū-l-Abbās-i-Mamun, the Shah of Khwārizm, wrote letters to Mahmūd and asked for his sister in marriage, and the Sultān, according to the request, sent his sister to Khwārizm. In the year 407 A.H. a band of low people attacked the Shāh of Khwārizm, and slew him. The Sultān advanced from Ghazna to Balkh and from there attempted to invade Khwārizm, and when he arrived at Hasarband, which is the boundary of that country, he sent forward Muhammad the son of Ibrahim Tā'i, in command of an advanced guard. When these encamped at a place, and were engaged in morning prayers, Khamār Tāsh, the commander of the army of Khwārizm, came out of ambush, attacked them, and having slain a large number dispersed the rest. When the Sultān received this news, he sent a large body of his personal slaves<sup>3</sup> in pursuit of

from the place. The Sultan entering that valley took much booty," etc., etc., as in the other MSS., and in the lithographed edition.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the fort is variously given. The lithographed edition calls it *کوت*; MS. A simply *کو*, MS. B *لو کو* and MS. C *بود کو*. Lohkot was the old name of Lahore, as according to tradition it was founded by Laba or Loh, one of the two sons of Rēma. It cannot, however, be said with certainty that the Lohkot here mentioned is identical with Lahore.

<sup>2</sup> According to Raverty (see notes 8 and 9, p. 84 of his trans. of the Tab-i-Nāq.) Abul-'Abbās-i-Māmūn Farīghūnī ruler of Jurjānshāh in Khwārizm, was Mahmūd's son-in-law, and he was murdered by some of his troops in 407 A.H. It appears that Mahmūd's daughter was married in 387 A.H. to 'Alī the son of Māmūn, son of Muhammad Al Farīghūnī, the Wālī or ruler of Jurjānshāh. 'Alī died in 390 A.H., and was succeeded by his brother Abul 'Abbās. He in the following year sent an envoy supposed to be Abū Rihān Al Bīrūnī (who has been so much depended upon for his knowledge of India) asking permission to marry the lady, his brother's widow. According to our author he again asked Sultan Mahmūd in 406 A.H. for the latter's sister as another wife. Khwārizm was the country lying along the banks of the Oxus or Jihun and extending to the Caspian Sea.

<sup>3</sup> The Court of Sultan Mahmūd was guarded by 4000 Turkish youths, who when they attained unto man's estate and their beards began to grow, were attached to a separate corps.

*Khamār Tāsh*, and they seized him and brought him before the Sultān. When the Sultān reached the fortress of Hazārasp, the army of Khwārizm came and met him in great strength and numbers. There was a great battle, and finally the army of Khwārizm was vanquished, and Alptigin<sup>1</sup> Bukhāri, who was their commander, was taken prisoner. The Sultān advanced with his army into Khwārizm, and first sentenced the murderers of Abul-'Abbās to death; and made over Khwārizm and Arganj<sup>2</sup> to his own Lord Chamberlain Altuntāsh, after conferring on him the title of Shah of Khwārizm. From Khwārizm the Sultan came to Balkh and conferred the country of Hirat on his son Amir Mas'ūd, and sent Abusahl<sup>3</sup> Muhammad bin Husen Rauzāni with him as his agent, and he made over Kurkan to Amir Muhammad and sent Abu Bakr Kuhtani<sup>4</sup> with him.

In the year 409 A.H. Sultān Mahmūd advanced with his army with the intention of conquering the country of Kannouj, crossed seven terrible rivers, and when he reached the boundary of Kannouj, Korah<sup>5</sup> the ruler of the country made his submission, besought the Sultan's protection and paid tribute. From Kannouj the Sultan advanced to Baran,<sup>6</sup> where the Raja, whose name was Hardat, left the fort in charge of his tribesmen and relatives, and himself went into seclusion. The garrison, being unable to withstand the Sultan, paid a tribute of a thousand times thousand dirams, which would be equivalent to two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, and thirty elephants, and thus obtained safety. From that place, the Sultan came to the fortress of Mahāwan, which is situated on the bank of the Jun (or Jumna), and the ruler of that fort, whose name was Kulchandra, attempted to escape across the river on an elephant.

<sup>1</sup> Raverty calls him Nialtigin, but says he has been called Albtigin by Baihaki (see note 9, p. 84 of his trans. of the Tab-i-Nās.).

<sup>2</sup> Arganj was a city in Khurāsān.

<sup>3</sup> These names are variously given in the lithographed edition, and in the MSS. collated.

<sup>4</sup> So in the lithographed edition and in the MSS.; he was probably however not the Raja of Kannouj, but of some fort or territory on the way. The name of the Raja of Kannouj was Rājyapāl Parihār, though that name does not occur in this history.

<sup>5</sup> The modern Buland Shāhar. According to other historians Hardat, Hardat of Abdul Qadir-i-Badā'uni, and Hirdat of the Jami'uttawārikh, was the Raja of Mathurah.

The Sultan's troops pursued him, and when they came up to him he slew himself with his dagger.

When to live, doth add to one's enemy's joy,  
'Tis better far to die than live.

The fort was captured, and eighty-five elephants, and plunder beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the army of Islam.

From that place, the Sultan advanced to Maturah, which is a large city containing many temples. It is the birthplace of Kishan (Krishna) the son of Bāśdeo, a god whom the Hindus believe to be the incarnation (literally the place of descent or alighting) of the great self-existent one. In short, when the Sultan arrived in this city, no one came forward to give him battle; and the Sultan's army completely destroyed the city and burnt the temples, and obtained boundless wealth. There was one golden idol, which was broken up under the orders of the Sultan, which weighed 98,300 Miskāls<sup>1</sup> of pure gold. They found a precious stone,<sup>2</sup> the weight of which was 450 Miskāls. They say that Qhānd Rāy, who was one of the Rajas of Hindustan, had an elephant which was of immense size, and was highly renowned. The Sultan wanted to buy it, and offered a large price, but could not get it. It so happened that, at the time of the return of the Sultan from Kannouj, one night this elephant ran away without its driver, and came to the vicinity of the Sultan's pavilion. The latter took possession of it, made great rejoicings and named it "the gift of God." When he reached Ghaznīn, he had the booty obtained in the expedition to Kannouj counted; it amounted to twenty *dand*<sup>3</sup> or a thousand times thousand dirams, and fifty-three thousand prisoners of war, and three hundred and <sup>4</sup> fifty elephants.

<sup>1</sup> A Miskāl was the  $\frac{1}{200}$ th part of a seer.

<sup>2</sup> The precious stone is called a Yāskūt-i-kuhli. A yāskūt is either a ruby or a sapphire; the adjective means that it was of the colour of kuhl or collyrium.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is not clear. The lithographed edition reads *بیست و پنج داند* (i.e., it came to twenty *dand* (1) or a thousand times thousand dirams. MS. A reads *بیست و پنج داند یا هزار داند*. MS. B reads *بیست و پنج داند یا هزار داند*. MS. C reads *بیست و پنج داند یا هزار داند* and MS. D reads *بیست و پنج داند یا هزار داند* none of which readings are intelligible.

<sup>4</sup> There is a *و* between *پنجاه* and *فیل* in the lithographed edition.

It has been handed down, that when the Sultân heard that a Râja of the name of Nandâ <sup>1</sup> had slain the Raja of Kannouj, because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance to him he formed a strong resolution to destroy Nandâ, and in the year 410 A.H. he again invaded Hindustân, and when he reached the river Jun, Naro Jaipâl, who had several times fled before his armies, encamped in front of it now, in order to help and assist Nandâ. As the river was deep no one could cross it without the permission of the Sultân. But in some unexplained manner, sixty of the personal slaves or guards of the Sultân suddenly crossed the river, threw the army of Naro Jaipâl into confusion, and routed it. Naro Jaipâl with some of the infidels escaped. The slaves did not come back to the Sultan, but attacked the town, which was in the neighbourhood; and finding it empty, plundered and ravaged it, and destroyed the idol temples.

From that place the Sultân advanced towards the kingdom of Nandâ. The latter prepared for battle and collected an immense army. It is said that this army consisted of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers, and 390 elephants.<sup>2</sup> When the Sultan encamped in front of Nandâ's army, he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit, and to accept Islâm. Nandâ refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultân went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of Nandâ's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies. In the night a great fear fell on the heart of Nandâ, and he fled with a few special companions, leaving the army and all the munitions of war behind.

The next morning, when the Sultân heard this, he mounted his

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edition and in MS. A; in MS. B it is ان. In MS. C there is nothing between the two words. I cannot make out the meaning of ان or ان.

<sup>1</sup> The name is so given in the MSS. as well as in the lithographed edition. The correct name appears to have been Gandâ the Chândel Râja of Kâlanjar, which was situated in what is now the Banda District.

<sup>2</sup> These numbers are taken from the lithographed edition, but there are variations in the MSS. MS. A gives the infantry at 105,000, and all the three MSS. give the number of the elephants at 640.

horse, and after having all the places where the enemy might be in ambush carefully searched, examined the traces of the hostile army, and when he was satisfied that no deception or treachery was intended, he stretched out his hand for destruction and plunder. Immense quantities of booty fell into the hands of the army of Islām. They also accidentally found five hundred and eighty elephants belonging to the army of Nandā in a wood, which was included in the booty.

At the same time intelligence was brought that there were two valleys called Kīrāt and Nūr, the inhabitants of which were heathens and had strongholds. The Sultan ordered his troops to be assembled, and he advanced towards that country, taking with him a large body of blacksmiths, carpenters and stone-cutters. When he reached that country he first attacked Kīrāt; this is a cold country in which large quantities of fruit are grown, and the people of the country worship<sup>1</sup>. The ruler of that forest land made his submission; and all the inhabitants of that country also attained to the happiness of Islam. Sāhib 'Alī ibn Alat Arslan<sup>2</sup> was nominated for the conquest of Nūr. He advanced into the country, conquered it, and laid the foundation of a fort, and left after nominating 'Alī ibn Kadr Jūk to be its Kotwāl or commandant. Islam spread in that country also, in some cases with the consent of the people, and in others in spite of their opposition.

In the year 412 A.H. the Sultan invaded Kashmīr and laid siege to the fort of Lohkot.<sup>3</sup> He remained there for a month, but as, owing to its strength and inaccessibility, he was unable to take it, he left the place and advanced towards Lahore and Bakrah.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> What they worship is not clear. The lithographed edition reads مردم شهر پرستند while the MSS. read شهر پرستند.

<sup>2</sup> This name is differently given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS. In the former it is given as I have given it in the text. In MS. A it is written Sāhib 'Alī ibn Ilar Musalmān, MS. B gives it as Sāhib 'Alī bin Ilar alan, while MS. C altogether omits the part of the sentence in which his appointment is mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> This is the fort already mentioned in page 9. The lithographed edition and MSS. A and B agree in calling it Lohkot, MS. C calls it لوه کوه.

<sup>4</sup> The lithographed edition calls this place Bakrah. MS. A calls it Bakor, and MS. B Bakhrāh. MS. C has left out the name altogether.



troops dispersed themselves among the foot-hills, plundering and ravaging, and booty beyond all calculation fell into the hands of the army of Islam. In the beginning of spring, the Sultan returned to Ghazni crowned with victory and renown.

In the year 413 A.H. he again invaded the kingdom of Nandā, and when he reached the fortress of Gwāllar, he laid siege to it. At the end of four days, the commandant of the fort sent envoys, and offering a tribute of thirty-five elephants, prayed for protection. The Sultan accepted these terms, and advancing to the fort of Kālanjar, which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustān for strength and impregnability, besieged it. The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nandā, the ruler of the fort, offered three hundred elephants as a tribute, and begged for safety. When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultan ordered that the Turks should catch hold of, and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle; and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. Nandā then sent some verses, which he had composed in the Hindi tongue, in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustān, and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of fifteen fortresses, and other presents in return for them. Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultan. From that place the Sultan returned (to Ghazni) with victory and triumph.

In the year 414 A.H. the Sultan had a muster taken of his troops; and it was found, that over and above the troops that were in garrison in various parts of his dominion, there were 54,000 mounted troops and 1300 elephants.

In the year 415 A.H. the Sultan went to Balkh. At the time, the people of Māwar-un-nahr complained of the oppression of 'Alī Tigin; and the Sultan resolved upon punishing him; and crossed the Jihun with that purpose. The Sardars of Māwar-un-nahr hastened one by one to welcome him, and sent according to his rank and circumstances offered tribute. Yuzuf Kadr Khān, who was the ruler of the western Turkistan, also came to welcome him, and was him in the way of friendship and alliance. The Sultan rejoiced at his coming, and arranged festive meetings; and they sent presents.

to each other. The Sultan sent him the delicate products of Hindustan, brilliant gems, and huge elephants, and they separated from each other in peace and good-will. 'Ali Tigin hearing of the Sultan's intentions fled. The Sultan sent men to seize him. They made him prisoner, and brought him before the Sultan. The latter ordered him to be imprisoned, and sent him to one of the forts of Hindustân. He then returned to Ghaznî and passed the winter there.

Then in accordance with his custom, he advanced with his army towards Hindustân with the object of the conquest of Somnâth. This is a large city on the shore of the sea, and is a place of worship of the Brâhmanas. There were many golden idols in the temple in the city, and the largest of these idols was called Manât.<sup>1</sup> I have read in historical works that before the advent of the last of the prophets, may God pour peace and blessings on him! this idol was taken out of the house Ka'aba, and was brought here; but it appears from the ancient books of the Brâhmanas, that this is not so. This idol has been the object of the adoration of the Brahmanas from the time of Kishan (Krishna), which was four thousand years ago; and according to the Brahmanas, it was here that Kishan disappeared.

In short, when the Sultan reached the city of Nahrwâlâ Patan, he found it empty. He ordered that grain might be collected, and then he took the way to Somnâth. When he reached Somnâth, the inhabitants shut the gate on his face. After much fighting and great struggles the fort was taken, and the <sup>2</sup>methods of plunder and destruction were carried into effect, and vast multitudes were killed and taken prisoner. The temples were pulled down, and destroyed from their very foundations. The idol Somnâth was broken to pieces, and one piece was sent to Ghaznî, and was placed at the gate of the Jâme' Masjid; and for years it remained there.

The Sultan raised his standard with the intention of returning; but as Param Deo, one of the most powerful of the Râjas of Hindustân, had to be met on the way, and he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all the circumstances, he turned

<sup>1</sup> One of the chief idols of the Pagans of Mecca, before the preaching of Islam, was named Manât.

<sup>2</sup> The phrase is curious لولایم فلوت و تلواج بمیل آمد.

towards Multan by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations *en route*, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder; but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship, he reached Ghaznin in the year 417 A.H.

In this year the Caliph Al-kādir-Billāh wrote a letter to the Sultān; and sent him the standards of Khurāsān and Hindustān and Nimroz and Khwārizm; and he bestowed titles on the Sultan, and his sons and brothers, in that letter. The Sultan received the title of Kahf-ud-dowlah wal Islām (the cave or asylum of the state and of Islām); Amīr Mas'ud that of Shahab-ud-dowlat wa Jamāl-ul-Millat (the bright star of the state and the beauty of religion); Amīr Muhammad that of Jalāl-ud-dowlat wa Jamāl-ul-Millat (the greatness of the state and the beauty of religion); and Amīr Yusuf that of 'Azd-ud-dowlat wa Muid-ul-Millat (the strength of the state and the help of religion); and he wrote in the letter, that he would recognise any of these, whom he might declare to be his heir and successor. This letter reached the Sultan at Balkh.

The same year the Sultān undertook an expedition to punish the Jats, who had, at the time of his return from Somnāth, behaved improperly towards his army, and had caused them much annoyance. He advanced towards Multan with a large force, and when he reached Multan ordered that a fleet of one thousand and four hundred boats should be constructed, and that three very strong iron bars or branches should be firmly fixed on each boat, one in front and two on the two sides; so that any thing which might strike against them would be broken into small bits and would altogether disappear; and placing twenty men armed with bows and arrows in each boat, and large flasks of naphthā, he went forward to attack the Jats. The Jats, being warned (of these preparations), sent their wives and families to the islands; and thus unencumbered made ready to oppose him. They had four thousand, and according to another report, eight thousand boats on the river; and they placed a number of armed men on each of them, and thus prepared for battle and bloodshed. When the two armies met each other, there was a great conflict. Each one of the boats of the Jats, when it came in front of one of the Sultan's boats, and struck one of the branches, was rent ~~in~~ under, and sank. In this way the whole of the Jats were drowned; and those who escaped drowning were cut to pieces. The Sultan's

### SULTÂN MUHAMMAD.

army then fell upon their families, and made them prisoners; and the Sultan returned victorious to Ghaznin.

In the year 419 A.H. the Sultan deputed Amir Tus Abul Has Arslan to Bâward<sup>1</sup> that he might go and extirpate the Turkman. After much fighting, Amir Tus wrote to the Sultan that it would not be possible to check the disturbances created by the Turkmen, unless he came there in person. So the Sultan went and extirpated the Turkmen. He then went on to Rei, and without any exertion or any trouble took possession of buried treasures and wealth, which the rulers of the country had accumulated in the course of many ages. There were large numbers of infidels and schismatics in these parts. Every one who was proved to be one, was sentenced to death. The countries of Rei and Isfahân were conferred on Amir Mas'ud; and the Sultan returned to Ghaznin.

In a short time after this, the Sultan was attacked with a hectic fever, and the disease became worse daily, and he was able with great difficulty to show himself to the people, as if he still possessed his former strength. In this condition he proceeded to Balkh; and when spring came, he returned to Ghaznin; and there he died of the same disease on Thursday the 23rd of Rabi'ul Akhar<sup>2</sup> 421 A.H. May the mercy of God be upon him. His reign extended over a period of thirty-five years.

They say, that when he was suffering the agony of death, the Sultan ordered that all his wealth and the beautiful things which he had collected should be placed before his eyes. He grieved over his approaching separation from them, and sighed bitterly, but did not give the least thing to anybody. He led twelve expeditions into India, and was carried on religious warfare.

### III. SULTÂN MUHAMMAD DOWLAH JAMÂL-UL-MILLAT MUHAMMAD THE SON OF MAHMÛD.

At the time that Sultan Mahmûd departed from this world, Amir Mas'ud was in Isfahân<sup>3</sup> and Amir Muhammad in Gurgân.

<sup>1</sup> The place is not clear. No name is given in the litho graphed edition. It reads like باور ونا. MS. B روم ونا. MS. C اور ونا.

<sup>2</sup> Mas'ud is mentioned in the Mukâmmât of the Amir Abu Naqr say that Mahmûd died on Thursday, the 14th Rabi'us Sani 421 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> According to Tab-i-Nâq. he was in 'Irâq, of which he was governor.

<sup>1</sup> Amīr 'Alī bin Aīl Arslān, who was related to Sultan Mahmūd, summoned Amīr Muhammad, and placed him on the throne at Ghaznī. Amīr Muhammad first turned his attention towards the oppressed, thought carefully about the matter, and endeavoured to increase the population and the wealth of the kingdom. He also opened the doors of his treasures and bestowed riches on high and low. He appointed Yākūb, the son of Yusuf, the son of Nāsiruddīn, who was his uncle, to be the commander of his army; and conferred a robe of honour on him; and Khwajah <sup>2</sup> Abu Sahl Ahmad bin al Hasan al Hamdouri was made minister, and entrusted with all affairs of government. Cheapness and prosperity appeared in his time; and merchants came from all directions to Ghaznī; and the people and the troops lived in all happiness. In spite of this, the hearts of the people inclined towards Amīr Shihāb-ud-dowlah Abu Sa'īd Mas'ūd; and after the lapse of fifty days from the death of Sultān Mahmūd, Amīr Āyāz entered into an agreement with the royal slaves or guards, that they would go to Mas'ūd; and they all bound one another with oaths; and sent a man to Abu'l Hasan 'Alī bin 'Abdullah who was called 'Alī Dāyah, and made him also join them. The next day the slaves assembled together, entered the stables, and mounting the horses specially set apart for the Sultan, came out with much haughtiness, and started towards Bast. Amīr Muhammad sent <sup>3</sup> Sondi Rāi Hindu with a large army in pursuit of them; and when they met, there was a great battle. Sondi Rāi and a large number of the Hindus were killed; and many of the slaves were also slain and their heads were sent to Amīr Muhammad. Amīr 'Alī Dāyah marched on with the slaves till they met Amīr Mas'ūd at

Major Raverty says he appears to have been at Hamadān, the author at least says he was in Isfahān.

<sup>1</sup> So in the lithographed edition and in MS. A. MS. B. امير علي and MS. C. امير علي بن ارسلان. Faṣih-i calls him امير علي and; the Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, 'Alī son of Iyāl Arslan. He is also called Kurbat and 'Alī Karīm.

<sup>2</sup> So in MSS. A and B; the lithographed edition امير علي instead of Sahl, MS. C gives the name as Khwajah Abu Sahl Abu امير علي Hasan wardi. In the Tab-i-Nas (note 8, p. 89 trans.) he is called Khwajah Abu Sahl.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that there were already Hindu troops in the army, and a Hindu general was in command of them.

Nishapur. They did him homage. He was much pleased, spoke of the fatigue of their journey, and enquired of the state of things generally.

Amir Muhammad was at Ghaznî, in the enjoyment of pleasure and happiness. After four months had passed in this way he ordered that his pavilion should be moved towards Bast; and he started from Ghaznî with much pomp. When they reached Tiginâbâd all the commanders of the army joined together; and sent a message to Amir Muhammad telling him, that as all the people wanted to submit to Amir Mas'ûd and do him homage, and it was certain that he (Muhammad) would not be able to withstand him, it would be better that he should go and sit in his own place (i.e. seek an asylum somewhere), and that they should go to him and make excuses to him for themselves and for him; and he might summon him to his presence, and he and they might escape with their lives. The Amir saw no other alternative than to accept this proposal. Then Amir Yusuf and 'Ali Hâjib and other commanders of the army placed Amir Muhammad in the fort of Zabk.<sup>1</sup> The whole of the army, with all the treasure, then marched towards Amir Mas'ûd, and went to Hirât. The rule of Muhammad did not extend beyond five months.

#### IV. ABU SA'ID MAS'ÛD BIN YEMIN-UD-DOWLAH SULTAN MAHMUD.

When Āyâz, the son of Aymâk, and 'Ali Dayah went to Amir Mas'ûd in Nishâpur, the latter feeling confidence in his powers, turned his attention to the administration of justice. After a few days, Abu Saïd Mursil bin Mansur bin Ataj Girdaizi brought a standard from the Amir-ul-Ma'mûnin Al-kâdir-Billah; and became the recipient of many favours and much kindness. Amir Mas'ûd then came to Hirât from Nishâpur. 'Ali Hâjib came at this time to Amir Mas'ûd, and received various favours. The whole of the army, and the treasures also now reached Hirât, and Amir Mas'ûd leaving Hirât went to Zabk; and spent the winter there.

Amir Mas'ûd then sent for Abul Kâsim Ahmad bin Hasan Maimandi, who had been imprisoned in the fort of Kâlaujar by

<sup>1</sup> The name of the fort is not clear; in the lithographed edition it is زبك and in MSS. A, B and C respectively زبك, زبك, and زبك.

order of Sultan Mahmud; and made him his minister. He ordered Mir Jang Mikāl<sup>1</sup> to be impaled, and he ordered all who had been hostile to him, and had sided with his enemies, to be executed; and having punished Amīr Ahmad bin Nialtigin,<sup>2</sup> who had been the treasurer of Sultān Mahmūd, and recovered much wealth from him, sent him to Hindustan. When he arrived there he revolted.

At this time, Abu Tālib Rustam Majd-ud-Dowlah came to Ghaznīn from India, under the orders of Amīr Mas'ūd. Amīr Husen bin Ma'dān, who was the ruler of Mekrān, complained against his brother to Amīr Mas'ūd, who ordered Mīr Tāsh Farāsh to obtain justice for him from his brother; and made him the ruler of Mekrān.

Amīr Mas'ūd then came to Ghaznīn from Balkh. The people of the city made rejoicings,<sup>3</sup> and went forward to meet him, and built triumphal arches, and scattered dirams and dinārs. He then started from Ghaznīn for Sipahān and Rei, and when he reached Hirāt, the people of Sarakhs and Bāward complained to him of the Turkmans. He sent Amīr Abu Sa'id 'Abdūs bin 'Abdul 'Aziz with a large army against them. The latter fought several times with them, and a large number of men were slain on both sides. Amīr Mas'ūd's troops fought several times, and then returned.

In the year 423 A.H. Khwājah Ahmad bin Hasan<sup>4</sup> received orders, and Khwajah Abu Naṣr Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Abdus Samad, who was noted for his ability in state affairs, and his wisdom, became minister in his place, and going to Khwārizm made that country prosperous, and then again returned to the service of Amīr Mas'ūd. The latter then returned to Ghaznīn.

In the year 424 A.H. Amīr Mas'ūd invaded India and attacked the fort of Sarsāti, which is situated in one of the Kashmīr valleys,

<sup>1</sup> The name is given in the text as in MS. A, in MS. B it is Mikāl, in MS. C it is Mikal, and in the lithographed edition Biakāl.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as in the text in two out of the three MSS. In the third it is Alptigin. In the lithographed edition it is Mālīkash.

<sup>3</sup> This is the first mention of such rejoicings and triumphal arches. We will come across many such rejoicings and the erection of arches or ornamental domes later on.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning is not quite clear. In the lithographed edition and in two of the MSS. the words are فرمان یانده. In the third فرمان صبور یافت. Apparently he was removed.

and besieged it, and in the end seized it and obtained much booty. From that place he went back to Ghaznīn.

In the year 425 A.H. Amīr Mas'ūd invaded Amīl and Sārt. The people of that country collected together and prepared for a bloody struggle, and as the army of Ghaznīn was victorious, Amīr Kali Khan the Amīr of Tabaristan sent envoys, and agreeing to insert the name of Mas'ūd in the Khutba or public prayers, sent his own son Bahman and his nephew Sharwīn the son of Surkhāb as hostages. Amīr Mas'ūd then turned his face towards Ghaznīn, and when he reached Nishāpūr the people complained to him of the oppression of the Turkmans. Amīr Mas'ūd sent Ekta'di and Husen bin 'Alī bin Mikāil with a large force against them. When the army reached Shunia-Itfaq,<sup>2</sup> the Turkmans came in, and represented that they were the slaves of the Amīr's threshold, and submissive to his commands. All that was necessary was, that the boundaries of their pastures should be defined, in which case they would have no concern with any one, and no one would, in any way, be molested by them. Ekta'di spoke harshly to the envoys, and said, "Between us and you there is no peace except with the sword. If you submit and refrain entirely from evil deeds, and sending some one to Amīr Mas'ūd, bring a letter addressed to me from him, then only will I keep my hands off from you."

When the Turkmans heard this from the mouth of their envoys, they came forward, and there was a great battle. In the end the Turkmans were defeated, and fled from the field of battle. Ekta'di pursued them, and seized their wives and families, and obtained much plunder. When Ekta'di's troops were returning, they became dispersed in search of plunder; and Daud Turkman coming out of the rocky defiles attacked them. The battle lasted through two days and two nights. Ekta'di said to Husen bin 'Alī, "I cannot maintain my position." Husen however stood firm, and went on with the battle, and was taken prisoner by the Turkmans. Ekta'di escaped, and went to Amīr Mas'ūd.

<sup>1</sup> The name is doubtful. It is not given in the lithographed edition but is given in all the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> This name is given in the lithographed edition as شونیه اتفاق. in MS. A as سنوہ اتفاق, in MS. B as سیند عفان, and in MS. C as سفند اتفاق.



When Amīr Mas'ūd arrived in Ghaznī the news of the revolt of Ahmad bin Nialtigin reached him. He sent Banth<sup>1</sup> bin Muhammad Ali, who was the commander of the Hindus, against him; and when they met, a battle took place; and Banth was slain, and his army dispersed. When this news reached Amīr Mas'ūd, he sent Tilak bin Husen, who was (another) commander of the Hindus, and he went and fought with Ahmad and defeated him, and he ordered the noses and the ears of such of Ahmad's soldiers as were captured to be cut off. Ahmad escaped to Mansurah in Sindh and attempted to cross the Indus. The river was however suddenly flooded, and carried him away, and he was drowned. When his corpse was afterwards thrown up on the bank, his head was cut off and brought to Tilak, who sent it to Amīr Mas'ūd.

In the year 427 A.H. the new castle was completed, and a golden throne adorned with gems was placed in it, and a golden crown also adorned with precious stones, which weighed seventy maunds, was hung over it, with chains of gold, and the Sultan held a public reception, seated on that throne, and with that suspended crown placed on his head.

The same year he sent Amīr Maudūd to Balkh, after conferring on him a standard and a kettle-drum; and he himself marched into Hindustān, and when he reached the fort of Hānsi, he took it, and found in it plunder beyond all count; and from that fort he marched with his army to the fort of Sanipat, and the commandant of that fort, Daniāl<sup>2</sup> Har by name, becoming aware of his approach, fled, and concealed himself in the jungles. The army of Islam having captured that fort, pulled down all the temples and obtained an enormous quantity of booty. Then when they heard where Daniāl Har was hid, they marched against him, and he coming to know of his fled alone; and all his troops were either slain or taken prisoner.

<sup>1</sup> This name is very differently given in the lithographed edition and in the MSS. In the former it is *بانت بن محمد علي*, in MS. A it is *مانه بن محمد علي*, in MS. B and C *تلك بن حسين*. Here again we have mention of Hindu troops, but the names of the commanders are peculiar. It is difficult to say what Banth means; Tilak is distinctly Hindu, but the names of the fathers of the commanders are distinctly Muhammadan.

<sup>2</sup> The name in the text is as it is given in the lithographed edition. In MS. A it is *Dipāl Har*, in MS. B *Dipāl Harmānah*, and in MS. C *Dipāl Haryānah*.

From that place Amīr Mas'ūd advanced to the valley of Rām; and when Rām heard of this he sent much tribute, with a message that as he was old and infirm, he could not come to do homage in person. Amīr Mas'ūd accepted his excuses and withheld his hand from him. He then conferred a standard and a kettle-drum on Amīr<sup>1</sup> Abul Muhammad son of Mas'ūd, and sent him to Lahore, and himself returned to Ghaznīn.

In the year 429 A.H. he went from Ghaznīn to Balkh, with the object of checking the disturbances created by the Turkmāns. The latter, when they heard of this, left Balkh; and went away elsewhere. In the meantime intelligence was received, that the whole of Māwar-un-nahr was in a state of turmoil on account of the aversion which the people felt for Purtikīn, who had succeeded Kadr Khān on the latter's death.

And Mas'ūd, hoping to acquire the whole country of Māwar-un-nahr, advanced into it. The people of the country, who had rebelled against their ruler, left their homes, and fled; and no one came forward to give battle. A few days after this, Khwajah bin Muhammad Abdus Samad, Mas'ūd's minister, sent him a letter; and informed him that Dā'ūd Turkumān was, with a large force, threatening Balkh, and he had no such force, and such munitions of war, that he could hope successfully to oppose Dā'ūd. Amīr Mas'ūd immediately returned from Māwar-un-nahr towards Balkh. The Turkmāns turned round and went to Merv. Amīr Mas'ūd arrived at Balkh, and then went to Gurgān in pursuit of Dā'ūd.<sup>2</sup> There some of the people came to him; and complained of the oppression committed by 'Alī Tandari.<sup>3</sup> This man was an impostor, a tyrant, who

<sup>1</sup> The readings here are various. The lithographed edition has "and the Amir ul Ma'mūn conferred, etc., on Abul Muhammad bin Mas'ūd and sent him to Lahore, etc.," which is clearly incorrect. MS. A has the reading which I have adopted, MS. B reads "and conferring a kettle-drum and a standard on Abul Fawaris and Mas'ūd, etc.," while MS. C has "and gave a kettle-drum and a standard to Amīr Abul Ahmad bin Muhammad."

<sup>2</sup> According to MS. C Dā'ūd went to Gurgān, but Mas'ūd did not go there in pursuit of him.

<sup>3</sup> The name is so given in the lith. ed. MS. A makes it *مخدري* in one place and *بمخدري* in another place in the same line. MS. B makes it *نخدري* and *چندي* in the two places. MS. C makes it *بمخدري*.

had stretched out his arm over all that region. Amīr Mas'ūd summoned him, to swear allegiance to him; but he heeded him not; but went on harassing the people. He took his family and children to the fort, which was in that neighbourhood, and prepared to withstand a siege. Amīr Mas'ūd sent an army against him. The fort was captured; and 'Alī Tandari was brought before Amīr Mas'ūd; and the latter ordered him to be impaled.

When the Turkmāns heard of Amīr Mas'ūd's march towards Merv, they sent envoys; and represented that they were his slaves, obedient to his commands; that if the boundaries of their pastures were defined, their cattle and families would remain in the lands allotted to them, and they would themselves serve him. Amīr Mas'ūd acceded to their prayers, and sent an envoy to Beghu, who was their leader, so that an agreement might be drawn up, to the effect that from that time they would refrain from their customary misdeeds. At the same time, the boundaries of their pastures were determined. These terms were agreed upon; and then Amīr Mas'ūd turned his face towards Hirat. In the way, a band of Turkmāns fell upon Amīr Mas'ūd's army; slew some of the men; and plundered some things. Amīr Mas'ūd sent a detachment in pursuit of them, who seized and slew them all, and capturing their wives and families brought them, together with the heads of the slain, to the Amīr. The latter sent all those heads, laden on asses, to Beghu, with the message that this was the punishment of all those who broke their engagements. Beghu made his excuses, and said that he knew nothing of these things, and that the Amīr had himself done to those people what he could have himself wished to do. The Amīr then went from Hirat to Nishapūr, and from the latter place to Tus. Near the latter place a band of Turkmāns met him, and a battle was fought, and many of them were slain. At this time intelligence was brought that the people of Bāward had delivered their fort to the Turkmāns. Amīr Mas'ūd attacked the fort, and having captured it, put the garrison to the sword. He then returned to Nishapūr and spent the winter there.

When the spring of 430 A.H. came, Amīr Mas'ūd again went to Bāward, with the object of attacking Tughral Turkmān. The latter became aware of this, and went away towards Taran Bāward. Amīr Mas'ūd turned round and came towards Sarakhs by way of

Mahnah, and as the people of Mahnah did not pay their tribute, he had them seized; and ordered many of them to be slain; and the hands of others to be cut off; and also had their strongholds demolished. From those parts he moved to Didankan.<sup>1</sup> When he arrived at this place, the Turkmāns came in great numbers from different directions and surrounded the army of Ghaznīn. Amīr Mas'ūd arrayed his troops, and made ready for battle. The Turkmāns met him also arrayed for battle, and a great conflict took place. In the meantime many of the commanders of the army of Ghaznīn turned round and joined the enemy; and the Amīr remained alone in the field of battle. He slew some of the leaders of the Turkmāns with his sword and lance and mace. Those of the commanders of the army of Ghaznīn who had gone over to the enemy now turned their backs to the field of battle and fled towards Ghaznīn. When there was no one near Amīr Mas'ūd he got out of the battlefield, through his own courage and prowess; and no one dared to pursue him. This occurred on the 8th Ramazān in the year 431 A.H. When Amīr Mas'ūd reached Merv, some of his troops rejoined him, and he came to Ghaznīn, from there, by way of Ghur.

He then punished all the commanders who had turned their backs on the enemy without fighting, such as 'Alī' Dāyah, the great chamberlain Sipāhi and Ekta'dī chamberlain. He ordered them all to be seized, mulcted, and sent to India, where they were imprisoned in different forts, and they all died while under imprisonment. Amīr Mas'ūd then determined to take his troops to India, where he might gain new strength and again collect a large army, and then attacking the Turkmāns, place their chastisement in the skirts of time. He sent Amīr Maudūd as Amīr to Balkh and directed Khwajah Muhammad bin Abdus Samad the Vazīr to accompany him, and appointed Artigin<sup>2</sup> Hajib to be his chamberlain, and sent

<sup>1</sup> The name of this place is given, as in the text, in MSS. A and B. In MS. C it is written as Yighmar and in the lith. ed. as Demghan. According to note 3, p. 74 of the *Tab-i-Nās*, (trans.) it appears that the name has been variously given in different works, but the correct name is *Tukān*.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. ed. and all the MSS. give the names as given in the text except that in MS. A we have Muka'tadi instead of Ekta'di.

<sup>3</sup> In the lith. ed. Artigin Hajib is said to have been appointed as Vazīr, the words *بهاجی* being changed to *بهاجی*; but all the MSS. agree in the reading as given in the text.

four<sup>1</sup> thousand men with him. He also ordered Amīr Muhammad to proceed to Multān with two thousand men; and he directed that the Amīr of that province should go to the hilly country of Ghaznīn, so that he might watch the Afghāns of that country who were refractory and prevent them from creating disturbances. He also brought all Sultān Mahmūd's treasures, which were in different forts, to Ghaznīn, and loading them on camels, started with them for India. From the way he sent men who brought his brother Amīr Muhammad from the fort of Targhand.<sup>2</sup>

When he reached Rabaṭ<sup>3</sup> Bārīklah, his slaves (or guards) plundered the treasure laden on the camels. At the same time Amīr Muhammad arrived there; and the slaves knowing that their transgression would not be forgiven, unless there was a new Amīr, had no alternative but to go to Amīr Muhammad and to accept him as the Bādshāh. They, therefore, went in a body and attacked Amīr Mas'ūd. The latter fortified himself in the Rabaṭ (inn). The next day the whole army went in a body, and brought the Amīr out of the inn, and seized him and immured him in the fort of Gīrī,<sup>4</sup> and he remained there till the 11th Jamādi-ul-awwal, 432 A.H., when a false message purporting to come from Amīr Muhammad was sent to the Kotwāl or Commandant of the fort to have him killed; and to send his head to the Amīr. According to this message his head was severed from his body and sent to Amīr Muhammad, who wept much, and severely reprimanded those who had brought this about.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. ed. and MSS. B and C give this number, but MS. A gives only one thousand.

<sup>2</sup> So in the lith. ed. MS. A reads برعد, B برهد, C مصر. The *Ṭab-i-Nās.* says that Barghand was the name of the fort in which Ibrahim and Farrukhzad were kept in imprisonment. Amīr Muhammad might have been imprisoned in the same fort.

<sup>3</sup> So in MS. B. MS. A reads رباط باریکله, MS. C رباط بار بکلیه and the lith. ed. رباط بار بکله, but a few lines further on it has رباط باریکله. According to the *Ṭab-i-Nās.* trans., p. 95, the correct name of the place is Mārīgalah. (See note 1 in the same page).

<sup>4</sup> So in all MSS. The lith. ed. has Gīrī; see also *Ṭab-i-Nās.* trans., p. 95 and note 2 in the same page.

IV. SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN<sup>1</sup> WA DOULAT, WA KUṬB-UL-MILLAT ABUL  
FATEH MAUDUD BIN MAS'ŪD.

When the news of his father's murder reached Amīr Maudūd in Bahistān,<sup>2</sup> he wanted to start for Bārīklah to revenge him, but Abu<sup>3</sup> Naṣr bin Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abdus Ṣamad kept him back from that undertaking, and took him to Ghaznīn. The people of the town all went forward to meet him, joined in the mourning rites, and took his side. Then with a great army, he advanced upon his uncle, Amīr Muhammad. When he arrived at Dantur,<sup>4</sup> Amīr Muhammad hastened forward to meet him, and a battle ensued. It lasted the whole day, and when night came on, each side took count of the enemy and remained in the battle-field. During the night Amīr Maudūd sent a messenger to Mir Ajall Sayyad Maṣṣur, who was in Amīr Muhammad's army, and gained him over; so that at the time of battle, the next day, Mir Ajall Sayyad Maṣṣur stood on one side as a spectator, and did not help either of the contending armies. After much fighting, the victory at last fell to Amīr Maudūd; and Amīr Muhammad and his son Ahmad and all the commanders of his army were taken prisoners; and after much torture were put to death. Amīr Maudūd established a cārāvānsarāi and a bazar at that place, and named it Fatehābād, and ordered that the coffins of his father and brothers should be brought to Ghaznīn from Gūr. This victory took place in the month of Sha'ābān, 432 A.H.

In the year 433 A.H. Amīr Maudūd was displeased with Khwājah Ahmad Abdus Ṣamad; and ordered him to be imprisoned in the

<sup>1</sup> So in the lith. ed., MS. A omits "uddīn" and adds "bin Sultan Mahmud" at the end. MSS. B and C add "bin Mahmud" at the end.

<sup>2</sup> So in the lith. ed. and in MS. B. In MS. A it is نهبان and in MS. C مینقان. As mentioned above, Amīr Maudūd had been sent to govern Balkh, just before his father started for India, and according to Major Raverty, he was at Balkh, when the tidings of his father's imprisonment and murder reached him; (see note 9, p. 95 of the trans. of the *Tab-i-Nās*.)

<sup>3</sup> So in the lith. ed. and in MSS. B and C. In MS. A there is no 'bin' before Abdus Ṣamad.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the place is not given in the lith. ed. In the MSS it is دنتور, دنتور and دنتور respectively. According to the *Tab-i-Nās*, the battle took place at Nagrahār.

fort of Ghaznin; and he died in captivity. The Amir then selected Abu Tâshir bin Muhammad Mustaufî to be his Vazîr, and the same year he sent Abu Naṣr Muhammad bin Ahmad towards Hindustan, to fight against Nāmî Muhammad bin Mahmud; and Nāmî was killed in the battle.

In the year 434 A.H. Amir Maudūd sent Artigin to Tajaristān;<sup>1</sup> and when he arrived there, he received information that the son of Dā-ūd Turkmān had come to Arhan. He marched against him, but when he arrived in his neighbourhood, the Turkmān leader received warning; and leaving his army behind, he went away with a few companions. Artigin followed him and slew many of his followers. He then proceeded to Balkh, and seized that town and had the Khuṭba (prayers) read in Amir Maudūd's name. After a short time, the Turkmāns intending to attack him, approached Balkh; and as he did not have a large army, he asked Amir Maudūd for reinforcement; but as his request was not acceded to, he returned with his army from Balkh to Ghaznīn.

In the year 435 A.H. the Amir was, owing to the insinuations of certain people, displeased with Abu 'Ali the Kotwal of Ghaznīn and put him in prison; but in the end, when he came to know of the Kotwal's innocence, he set him at liberty, and made him the Minister of his dominions as well as Kotwal of Ghaznīn, and he ordered Suri<sup>2</sup> bin Al'aḥr who had previously been his Vazîr to be imprisoned; and the man died while in prison. People also created a bad impression about Artigin in the mind of Amir Maudūd; and he had him beheaded in his own presence.

In the year 436 A.H. Khwajah Tâshir the Vazîr received his order (of dismissal); and Khwajah Imām Sayyad Abul Fateh Abdur Razzâk bin Ahmad bin Husen was appointed Vazîr in his place. The same year Tughral Hâjib was sent towards Bast, and he went as far as Sistân, and having seized the brother of Abul Fazl Darangî Abu Maṣṣur, brought him to Ghaznīn.

In 437 A.H. the Turkmāns advanced in force towards Ghaznīn.

<sup>1</sup> So in the lith. ed. and in MSS. B and C. MS. A reads Tabaristān.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as in the text in the lith. ed. In MS. A it is given as Suri bin Alma'shr. In MS. B as Suri bin Alma'br, and in MS. C as Suri bin Ima'br.

As they passed through Bast, and destroyed Rabâṭ Amīr, the army of Ghaznīn met them, and there was a great battle, and many of the Turkmāns were slain. After this victory Tughral went towards Garmsīr,<sup>1</sup> and slew the Turkmāns of that country, who were called the Surkh Kulāh (the red caps): and taking a large number of them prisoners, brought them along with him.

In the year 438 A.H. Amīr Maudūd again sent Tughral in the same direction, with a very large army. When Tughral reached Baknābād,<sup>2</sup> he showed signs of faithlessness. When news of this came to Amīr Maudūd, he sent men to Tughral, to reassure and conciliate him. Tughral said in reply to them, that as the men who were in attendance on the Amīr, were hostile to him, he could not come and do homage to the latter. After this, the Amīr sent 'Ali bin Rabi' with two thousand mounted troops to summon Tughral. When 'Ali bin Rabi' came to the neighbourhood of the place where Tughral was, the latter fled with a few men; and 'Ali coming upon his army routed it; and seizing a certain number took them to Ghaznīn.

The same year, the Amīr sent the Amīr Hājib Buzurg Batabakin<sup>3</sup> towards Ghur, and when the latter started on the expedition, he took Shīr<sup>4</sup> bachah with him, and when they reached the fort of Abu 'Ali they captured it and took Abu 'Ali prisoner. This was a fort which had not been conquered by anybody during seven centuries. Shīr bachah brought Abu 'Ali to Ghaznīn with a yoke on his neck.

The same year Amīr Maudūd sent Amīr Hājib Baitigin against Bahrām Sāl, who was the leader of the Turkmāns and their armies met and fought in the neighbourhood of Bast, and the Turkmāns were defeated.

<sup>1</sup> So in the lith. ed. MS. A reads (Jarmīr, MS. B Garmau or Garmu, and MS. C Germiraft joining the first letter of the verb raft with the name of the place.

<sup>2</sup> So in the lith. ed.; MS. A has Tanknābād. MS. B has Baknābād, but the preposition ba or bah which should precede it has been omitted; MS. C has Eknād. Apparently Tiginibad is meant.

<sup>3</sup> So in the lith. ed.; MS. A has Baitigin. MS. B Barabuktin (?) and MS. C Babikīn (?).

<sup>4</sup> So in the lith. ed. and MS. A. MSS. B and C have respectively Serpanjah and Shīr panjah.



In the year 439 A.H. Amīr Kazdar revolted and Amīr Maudūd sent Hājib-buzurg Baitigin against him and Amīr Kazdar was defeated; and after a time, made his submission and agreed to pay tribute. The Amīr Hājib then returned to Ghaznīn.

In the year 440 A.H. the Amīr sent his two sons Abul Kāsim Maḥmud and Maṣṣur, after conferring on them robes of honour, kettledrums and standards on the same day—the former towards Lahore and the latter towards Parsur; and he sent Abu 'Ali Hasan the Kotwal of Ghaznīn to Hindustan, so that he might mete out punishment to the rebels in that country. Abu 'Ali advanced to the fort of Māhitah,<sup>1</sup> and when Ahnīn<sup>2</sup> the ruler of the fort received information of it, he fled alone, leaving his followers behind. The Kotwal sent a messenger to Hajrāi<sup>3</sup> the commander of the Hindus who had done meritorious service in the time of Sultan Maḥmūd, and had spent his life in the Sultan's service, but had afterwards, on account of certain matters, become dissatisfied; and had fled to Hindustan, and was now among the mountains of Kashmīr. He gave him many assurances, and summoned him to his presence; and after pledging his faith to him, sent him to Ghaznīn. Amīr Maudūd received him with favour and comforted him.

During the time that the Kotwal Abu 'Ali was in Hindustān, his enemies, out of the malice which they bore him, represented many things about him to the Amīr in a disagreeable light; and when he came back to Ghaznīn the Amīr ordered him to be imprisoned and made him over to Mirak<sup>4</sup> Hasan Vaktī. After a few days, while he was in prison, his enemies procured his death; and as they had done this, without the permission of Amīr Maudūd, endeavoured to conceal it from him; and tried, every day, to induce him to undertake a journey, in the hope that if the Amīr should leave Ghaznīn, this deed of theirs would remain concealed. In the end the Amīr started on a journey to Kabul. When he reached the

<sup>1</sup> So in the lith. ed., MS. A reads Māhilah, MS. B Bāhabilat and MS. C Mahtah.

<sup>2</sup> So in the lith. ed., MS. A has Ānhā and MS. B and C Āhīn.

<sup>3</sup> So in the lith. ed. and in MS. C. MS. A has Bejrāi, and MS. B Sahrāi.

<sup>4</sup> So in lith. ed., MS. A has Mirak bin Husen, and MSS. B and C, Mirak bin Hasan.

fort of Syamkot,<sup>1</sup> he had an attack of colic, which grew worse day by day. He was therefore forced to return to Ghaznīn. When he arrived there, even when he was still ill, he insisted on Mirak bringing Abu 'Ali Kotwal out of prison and producing him. Mirak Vakil made various subterfuges<sup>2</sup> and asked for a week's time; and the week had not expired when Amīr Maudūd died on the 24th Rajab, 441 A.H. The period of his rule extended to nine years. His son Muḥammad,<sup>3</sup> who was three years of age, was placed on the throne through the exertions of 'Ali bin Rabi'; but after five days there was a change in the views of the nobles, and 'Ali bin Mas'ūd was raised to the Sultanate.

#### V. 'ALI BIN MAS'ŪD.

When 'Ali bin Mas'ūd was raised to the throne, Abdur Razzāk bin Ahmad Maimandi, who had been nominated by Amīr Maudūd to be governor of Sīstān, reached a fort between Bast and Isfain,<sup>4</sup> and found that Abdur Rashid was imprisoned in that fort by order of Amīr Maudūd. He brought the latter out of the fort, and accepted him as the Bādshāh. He also summoned the troops to do homage to him, and got them all to swear allegiance to him. 'Ali's rule was for a period of about three months.

#### VI. 'ABDUR RASHID BIN MAS'ŪD.

When he was raised to the throne, he marched towards Ghaznīn with 'Abdur Razzāk and other commanders. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, 'Ali bin Mas'ūd fled without giving battle and 'Abdur Rashid became the ruler of Ghaznīn. He sent Tughrāl Hājib, who was one of the nobles of Sultan Mahmud, to Sīstān, and Tughrāl conquered that country, and acquired considerable power. He then marched towards Ghaznīn with the intention

<sup>1</sup> So in MS. A. MS. B has Sialkot. MS. C Samkot and the lith. ed. Sankot.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. ed. reads جهل بیش آورده having pleaded ignorance, but all the MSS. read حیل instead of جهل

<sup>3</sup> See Tab-i-Nisā. trans., p. 97, also note 4 in the same page.

<sup>4</sup> So in lith. ed., MS. A reads Isfār, MS. B Is'ār, and MS. C Iskrār.

of treacherously attacking Amīr 'Abdur Rashīd. When he arrived in the vicinity of the capital, the Amīr became aware of his treachery, and taking his adherents with him shut himself up in the fort, and Tughral, having seized the city, ordered Amīr 'Abdur Rashīd and the other descendants of Sultan Mahmūd to be slain; except a daughter of Mas'ūd, whom he married, against her wishes. One day, however, when he was seated on the throne at a public reception, a band of brave men, actuated by hatred for his evil deeds, came in and hacked him to pieces with their swords; and threw his corpse on the dust of wretchedness. His<sup>1</sup> rule lasted for four years.

#### VII. FARRUKHZĀD BIN MAS'ŪD.

When Tughral was slain, the nobles and chief men in the state released Farrukhzād who was in imprisonment<sup>2</sup> and seated him on the throne. The Saljukians came in great force at this time to attack Ghaznīn, and tried to seize it, but Har<sup>3</sup> har went forward by order of Farrukhzād to meet them; and many of them were slain; and some of the chiefs were seized and brought before the Amīr who ordered them to be imprisoned. A second time Alb Arslān collected a large army and fought with the army of Ghaznīn, and after inflicting a defeat seized many of the nobles of Ghaznīn and took them away to Khurāsān. At last a treaty was arranged and the prisoners of both sides were released. When Farrukhzād's rule had extended over a period of six<sup>4</sup> years, he departed from this perishable world and his brother Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd ruled in his stead.

#### VIII. IBRAHIM BIN MAS'ŪD BIN SULTĀN MAHMŪD.

He was a just and pious king, who was celebrated for his ability and wisdom. He wrote a beautiful hand; and each year

<sup>1</sup> This apparently refers to 'Abdur Rashīd. According to the *Tab-i-Nās* the reign of 'Adur Rashīd extended to a period of two years and a half (p. 99 of the translation) and that of Tughral to forty days.

<sup>2</sup> In the fortress of Barghand, see p. 101 *Tab-i-Nās* trans.

<sup>3</sup> So in the lith. ed., and in MS. B. MSS. A and C read Khar Khar.

<sup>4</sup> The *Tab-i-Nās* says his rule lasted for seven years, but other historians say he ruled for six years: see *Tab-i-Nās* trans., p. 102, also note. He is also said to have died of colic like Maudūd.

he made a transcript of the *Qurʾān*, and sent it with much treasure to Mecca. In short, when he had arranged a peace with the Saljukiens, and his mind was relieved of all anxiety in that quarter, he turned his face towards Hindustān and conquered many towns and fortresses there. Among these, there was a very populous town. The residents were descendants of the Khurāsānians, whom Āfrāsiyāb had driven out of Khurāsān. In that town there was a reservoir the diameter of which was half a farsang (league). Although men and cattle drank the water, no diminution ever took place in it; and owing to the dense jungle round the fort no entrance to or exit from it could be discovered. Farrukhzād conquered such a strong fortress by his strength and vigour, and seized a hundred thousand men, and brought them to Ghaznīn. An estimate of the quantity of the plunder carried away may be made from this. He died in the year 491 A.H.<sup>1</sup> and his rule extended over a period of thirty years, and according to the author of the *Banāskati* to forty-two years.

#### IX. MAS'ŪD BIN IBRĀHĪM.

After his father, he sat in his father's place and was invested with the title of Sultan Jalāluddīn.<sup>2</sup> Nothing more about his reign has come before my eyes. His reign extended over sixteen years.

#### X ARSLĀN SHĀH BIN MAS'ŪD BIN IBRĀHĪM.

After his father, he ascended the throne, and in order to give stability to his rule, he seized and imprisoned all his brothers, except Bahrām Shāh, who fled to Sultān Sanjar in Khurāsān; and although Sultān Sanjar wrote letters about him, and strongly urged his case, Arslān Shāh did not accede to his request. At last Sultān Sanjar marched against him with a great force, and when he arrived within

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tab-i-Nāq.* (trans., p. 105) he died in the year 492 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tab-i-Nāq.* gives him the title of 'Alāuddīn, but according to a note of the translator his proper title was Alauddowlah. He appears to have been a just and beneficent ruler. He obtained the title of Karīm, or beneficent, and had a quiet and peaceful reign. At the same time, during his reign the Hajib \*Tughatigin is said to have crossed the Ganges to carry on a holy war in Hindustān, and to have penetrated to places which no one, except Sultan Mahmūd, had previously reached with an army.

a league of Ghaznīn, Arslān Shāh marched out with thirty thousand troops, and a great battle took place. Arslān Shāh was defeated and retreated to Hindustan. Sultān Sanjar went into Ghaznīn and remained there for forty days, and after conferring the country on Bahrām Shāh, went back to his own country. When Arslān Shāh heard of the departure of Sultan Sanjar he went back to Ghaznīn from Hindustān with a large army. Bahrām Shāh was unable to meet him in battle, and leaving Ghaznīn went to the fort of Bamiān, and, then, after receiving help and reinforcements from Sultān Sanjar, again marched against Ghaznīn. Arslān Shāh, afraid of Sultān Sanjar's army, evacuated the city and retired to a place of obscurity. 'The Saljuk army pursued and seized him, and took him to his brother Bahrām Shāh; and he met with death' from his brother's hand. His reign lasted for three years.

#### XI. BAHRĀM SHĀH BIN MAS'ŪD BIN IBRAHĪM.

He was a king who reigned with much pomp and state and used to associate with the learned and wise. Sheikh Ṣanāʿī wrote verses in his honour, and many books were written during his reign. The "Kalelah, wa damnah" was compiled in his honour; and on the day on which he ascended the throne, Syiad Hasan Ghaznawī recited an ode of which the following are the opening lines:—

A shout from the same seven heavens did come,  
 "Great Bahrām Shāh of the world is King!"

He marched into Hindustan with his army and conquered regions which his ancestors had never succeeded in acquiring. He left one of his nobles to govern his Indian dominions, and returned to Ghaznīn. After a long time, that man showed his ingratitude, and took the path of rebellion. Bahrām Shāh hearing of this, turned his face towards Hindustan, in order to destroy the insurgent. When he came to the vicinity of Multan the two armies engaged in a dreadful conflict. The rebel got his deserts, and was seized and slain. The kingdom of Hindustan came for a second time into the

<sup>1</sup> The Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. gives a different account of his death, see p. 109 of the trans.

possession of Bahrām Shāh. He left the world in the year 547 A.H.<sup>1</sup> His reign extended over a period of thirty-five years.

## XII. KHUSRO SHĀH BIN BAHRĀM SHĀH BIN MAS'OD BIN IBRĀHĪM.

He became Sultan after his father. As 'Alāuddīn Husen Ghūrī turned his attention towards Ghaznīn, Khusro Shāh fled to Hindustan and established his rule in Lahore. When 'Alāuddīn Husen went back, Khusro Shāh returned to Ghaznīn, but as the Ghaz marched to Ghaznīn after seizing Sultan Sanjar, Khusro Shāh being unable to meet them in the field, again retired to Lahore; and there he died in the year 556 A.H. His<sup>2</sup> reign extended over a period of eight years.

## XIII. KHUSRO MALIK BIN KHUSRO SHĀH.

After the death of his father, he ascended the throne at Lahore. He possessed modesty and patience; but as he was much addicted to pleasure and dissipation, great confusion found its way into the kingdom.

When the king does not his subjects guard  
As the shepherd guards his sheep,  
Confusion, dire and miseries great  
Into the kingdom creep.

When Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Muḥammad Sām made Ghaznīn his capital, and advanced with his army into India and reached the neighbourhood of Lahore, with an irresistible power, Khusro Malik begged for protection, and in the year 583 A.H. surrendered himself into his hands. The Sultān sent him to Ghaznīn, where he was made to drink the sharbat of death. The period of his rule was twenty-eight years: and with him the power of the Ghaznawīs came to an end; and dominion passed away from this dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> There is very great discrepancy as to the year of Bahrām Shāh's death. See note 5, p. 112, of Raverty's translation of the *Ṭab-i-Nāq*, in which the dates given in the different histories have been mentioned and discussed.

<sup>2</sup> The account given above agrees generally with the history of the reign of Khusro Shāh, given in the *Tas̄kīrat-ul-Mulūk*, as quoted by Raverty, in note 3, p. 112, of his translation of the *Ṭabakāt-i-Nāqīrī*.

## SECTION I.—THE SULTÂNS OF DEHLI.

## SULTAN MU'IZZUDDIN MUHAMMAD SÂM GHURI.

He has become celebrated as Shihabuddin.<sup>1</sup> He had a brother named Shamsuddin, elder than him; who, after he became Sultân, was called Ghiâsuddin. After Sultân Ghiâsuddin had become Sultân of Ghur, and had conquered various countries, he left his younger brother Mu'izzuddin at Tiginâbâd, which is in the Garmsîr country, and when Sultân Mu'izzuddin became ruler of Tiginâbâd, he repeatedly sent his troops against Ghaznî<sup>2</sup> and raided and devastated the country till the year 569 A.H.; when Sultân Ghiâsuddin conquered it, and left his younger brother Mu'izzuddin Muhammad there.

In the year 570 A.H. Mu'izzuddin arrived in Ghaznî as his brother's deputy; and after a year, he marched his troops towards Uchch and conquered Multan from the Schismatics known as the Karmîta, and took possession of it. The rulers of the Bhâti<sup>3</sup> tribe shut themselves up in the fortress of Uchch; but after a few days' fighting, it was taken; and it and Multan were placed in the charge of 'Ali Karmâkî, and Mu'izzuddin returned to Ghaznî.

In the year 574 A.H. he again came to Uchch and Multan; and thence marched towards Gujrat through the desert. Rai Bhim Deo, who was the ruler of the country, gave him battle; and after a severe struggle, the Sultân was defeated; and after much trouble, he returned to Ghaznî, and rested there for a short time.

Then in the year 575 A.H.<sup>4</sup> he advanced with his troops towards

<sup>1</sup> He was known as Shihâbuddin before his brother succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghur; after which his title was changed to Mu'izzuddin. The former title does not occur at all in the Tâj-ul-Masâir or in the Tabakât-i-Nâsirî. (See note 4, p. 440, and note 3, p. 448, of the Tab-i-Nâq. trans.).

<sup>2</sup> Ghaznî was at this time in the hands of the tribe known as the Qhas, as it had already been for about twelve years, and it was them that Ghiâsuddin defeated. (See Tab-i-Nâq. trans., p. 377, also note 4).

<sup>3</sup> This tribe, the name of which has been variously spelt, had previously been possessed of a great part of Sind (see last para. of note 2, p. 440, of the Tab-i-Nâq. trans.).

<sup>4</sup> There is much discrepancy as regards this date. Three authors make it 575 A.H., two 576 A.H., but the majority of historians 577 A.H., while Badâ'uni makes it 580 A.H.: see note 1, p. 452, of the translation of the Tabakât-i-Nâsirî.

Peshāwar, which is celebrated in the old books as Bikrām or Bagrām, or Parsur or Fursur, and conquered the country around. The next year he went to Lahore; and Sultân Khusrō Malik, who was a descendant of Sultân Mahmud of Ghaznīn, and at this time ruled in Lahore, shut himself up in the fort. After some negotiations, Khusrō Malik sent his son with an elephant<sup>1</sup> as tribute, and Sultân Mu'izzuddin made peace with him and returned.

The next year he advanced to Diwāl, which is another name for Thathah,<sup>2</sup> with his army; and having brought the whole of the country along the coast under his sway, and taking away much booty, returned.

In the year 580 A.H. he again invaded the country of Lahore; and Khusrō Malik again shut himself up. Sultân Mu'izzuddin plundered the country round Lahore; and laid the foundation of the fort of Sialkot,<sup>3</sup> between the rivers Ravi and Chenab, and after appointing Husen Kharmil to be the warden of the fort returned. After this Khusrō Malik with the help of the Khokhars<sup>4</sup> and other tribes besieged the fort for a long time; but was unable to take it, and had to retire.

In the year 582 A.H. Sultan Mu'izzuddin again invaded Lahore. Khusrō Malik again shut himself up in the fort, and attempted to defend himself for some days. Then at last, becoming convinced of his weakness, he hastened to meet the Sultan, who took him with

<sup>1</sup> This elephant has been described by some historians as a renowned one and the finest that Khusrō Malik possessed.

<sup>2</sup> In the lith. ed. Diwāl is called the bandar or port of Thathah. In MSS. A and C Diwāl is described as another name for Thathah, while MN, B does not mention Thathah at all in connection with Diwāl. According to Major Raverty it is not the same place as Thathah; but is in the Thathah province between Thathah and Karachi (see note 5, p. 291, and note 2, p. 452, of his trans. of the *Tab-i-Nāq.*).

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāqiri* Mu'izzuddin did not lay the foundation of the fort of Sialkot; he only restored it. It was a very ancient fort founded by one of the ancient Hindu rulers, but had become dilapidated and Mu'izzuddin had it restored. (*Tab-i-Nāq.* trans., p. 453, also note 4, in the same page).

<sup>4</sup> The Khokhar must not be confounded with the Gakhars or Khakhars who are a totally distinct race (see last para. note 4, p. 453, of the *Tab-i-Nāq.* trans.).



himself to Ghaznî and then sent him to his brother Ghiyâsuddîn at Firozkoh. The latter imprisoned him in one of the forts of Gharjistan, and he died there, while still under imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> Sultân Mu'izzuddîn placed Lahore under the charge of 'Alî Karmâkh who had previously been appointed to be the governor of Multan; and went back to his capital.

In the year 587 A.H. he again invaded Hindustân. Leaving Ghaznî he came to the fort of Sarhind,<sup>2</sup> which was at that time the capital of very powerful Rajahs, and conquered it; and having made it over to Zîâuddîn<sup>3</sup> Tukalî (or according to others Tulakî), and supplying him with a band of twelve hundred specially selected troopers, and the necessary munitions of war, to guard it, was preparing to depart, when he received information of the approach of Pithora (Prithvî Raj), the Râi of Ajmîr, and went forward to meet him. Then at a place called Tarâin<sup>4</sup> on the bank of the Sarasutî, which is at seven *karohs* from Thanesar and is now known as Tarâwari,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This account agrees mainly with that given in the *Tab-i-Nâq.* (see p. 115 of the translation), but it is said there that Khusrô Malik was induced to come out of the fort under the faith of a treaty. The fort in Gharjistan, in which he was kept imprisoned, is there called Balarwîn. This account however differs considerably from that given by our author himself, in his account of the rule of Khusrô Malik.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. ed. and all three MSS. read Sarhind; but according to Major Raverty all the copies of the *Tabakat-i-Nâqiri* which he collated and all the older historians read Tabarhindah or Tabarhindh (see *Tab-i-Nâq.* trans., p. 457, and also note 3 in the same page).

<sup>3</sup> The lith. ed. reads Zîâuddîn Tukal but the MSS. read Zîâuddîn Tulakî (or according to others Tulakî). His correct name according to the *Tab-i-Nâq.* trans., p. 458, appears to have been Malik Ziyâ (or Zîâ) uddîn the Kâzi Muhammad+Abdus Sallam Nisâwî Tulakî. Major Raverty has explained in note 4 in the same page that he or his family came originally from Nisâ and he was Kâzi of Tulak.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the place is clearly written Tarâin in MS. A. In MS. C it may be Tarâin or Narâin, but in the lith. ed. and in MS. B it is clearly Narâin. The correct name is Tarâin. The mistake has originated, according to Major Raverty, with the translators of *Forishta* (see note, p. 450, of the trans. of the *Tab-i-Nâq.*).

<sup>5</sup> This name appears as Tarâwari in the lith. ed., and in all the three MSS. Major Raverty has identified it with Talawari, which he found mentioned in the account of a personal survey, made by one Mirza Moghal Beg of these parts, about 80 years before the time (1881) when he wrote his translation.

and is situated at a distance of forty *karohs* from Dehli, there was a great battle, and the army of Islām was vanquished. The Sultān showed great bravery in the battle, and wounded with his lance, in the mouth, Khāndi<sup>1</sup> Rāi, the brother of Pithora, who was the ruler of Dehli; and who mounted on an elephant was leading his troops; and he, in return, struck the Sultān on the arm with his lance and wounded him. The Sultān was about to fall down from his horse, when a young Khalj foot-soldier, seeing his condition, mounted behind him on his horse, and supporting him in his arms, brought him out of the battlefield; and the tumult which had commenced among the soldiers owing to the disappearance of the Sultān subsided. Then, when the Sultān retired to Ghaznīn, Rāi Pithora marched to the fort of Sarhind (Tabarhinda) which was held by Zīāuddin Tukali, and besieged it for a year and a month, and at last took it after negotiations. In the year 588 A.H. Sultān Mu'izzuddin again returned to India, and in the very same place of Tarāin, where a battle had formerly taken place, he again met Pithora; and there was another great battle. The Sultān divided his army into four sections, and making a series of attacks, at last vanquished the foe. Pithora was taken prisoner and was slain, and Khāndi Rāi (Gobind Rāi) was killed in the battle. The Sultān then conquered the forts of Sarauti<sup>2</sup> and Hānsi; and plundered and ravaged Ajmīr, which was the capital of Pithora; and leaving Malik Kutubuddin Aibak, who was a favourite slave of his, in the town of Kuhrām, which was seventy *karohs* from Dehli, and after plundering and devastating the country near the Sivalik hills, which are in the Northern side of India, returned to Ghaznīn.

The same year Malik Kutubuddin Aibak conquered the forts of

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Tarāwari can be easily changed to Talāwari (see note 7, p. 450, of the *Tab-i-Nās. trans.*).

<sup>1</sup> The name is so given in the lith. ed. In the three MSS. it is Khāndah Rāi, Khanda Rāi and Khand Rāi. The oldest copies of the *Tab-i-Nās.* call him Gobind or Gobindah. More modern copies and later historians Khanda or Khāndi. The Hindu bard, Chānd, calls him Rāi Gobind, which appears to have been the correct name. (See note 9, p. 450, of the *Tab-i-Nās. trans.*).

<sup>2</sup> This was a city on the bank of the ancient Saraswati. Ibn Batuta calls Sarauti a great city. In Akbar's time Sarauti was one of the *mahāls* of Sarkar Sambhal.

Dehli and Mirat and took them from the kinsmen of Pithora and Khāndi Rāi. In the year 589 A.H. he seized the fort of Kol and made Dehli his capital, and took up his residence there. He then completely subjugated the country round about Dehli. From this date Dehli became the capital of the Sultāns. The same year Sultan Mu'izzuddīn again left Ghaznīn for the invasion of India, and advanced towards Kannouj; and Rāi Jai Chand, the ruler of that city, who had more than three hundred elephants, advanced against him and gave him battle in the neighbourhood of Chandwār<sup>1</sup> and Itāwah; but was defeated and his elephants and troops fell into the Sultan's hand. The Sultan then went back crowned with triumph and victory to Ghaznīn and carried away much booty, leaving Malik Ḳutbuddīn in Dehli. The latter took the forts of Thankir,<sup>2</sup> Gwalior and Badā'un, and advancing with his army to Nahr-walah in Gujrāt, inflicted a defeat on Rāi Bhīm Deo, the ruler of that country, in revenge of the defeat he had inflicted on the Sultan; and obtained much plunder. Sultan Mu'izzuddīn was on the frontier of Tūs<sup>3</sup> and Sarakhs, when he received intelligence of the death of his elder brother Ghiā'suddīn, who bore the title of Bādshāh (King), and he came to Badgheis; and after the mourning rites, divided his brother's dominions among the descendants of Sām, in this way, that he conferred the throne of Firozkoh and Ghur on Malik Ziā'suddīn the son of his uncle, who was also the son-in-law of Sultan Ghiā'suddīn; and Bast, and Farah and Isfarain on Sultan Mahmud the son of Sultan Ghiā'suddīn; and confirmed the possession and rule of Hirat and its dependencies with Nāṣiruddīn Ghāzī, who was the nephew (sister's son) of Sultan Ghiā'suddīn. He then came to Ghaznīn from Bādgheis.

Then with a great army he advanced into Khwārizm for the conquest of that country and the King of Khwārizm fell back dis-

<sup>1</sup> This place has not been identified. Major Raverty says that the only place having a similar name is Chandpur or Chandanpur, in the district of Farukhābād, on the route from Bareilly to Fatehgarh, lat. 27°27', long. 76°42'.

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable discrepancy among historians as to the date of the taking of Thankir (the Modern Biānah), and as to who took it. See note 3, p. 470, of the *Tab-i-Nāṣ* trans.

<sup>3</sup> He went there to relieve Hirat which had been besieged by the army of Sultan Muhammad Shah of Khwārizm.

comfited. When the Sultan reached Khwārizm, and fighting went on for some days, the troops of Khwārizm fought on the bank of the aqueduct which had been dug from the Jēihūn to the east of Khwārizm, and some of the nobles of Ghur fell in the fight. As the Sultan was unable to conquer Khwārizm he began to retire towards Balkh along the Jēihūn, and the armies of Khitā and the Turkmān Malikis, who had come to the aid of Sultān Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh, came to the bank of the Jēihūn and obstructed the passage of Sultan Mu'izzuddin. When the latter reached Andkhud there was a very severe fight, and the Sultan fought with great prowess and courage, with the hundred mounted men he had with him, and made great exertions; but as he had no power left to withstand the enemy, he shut himself up in the fort of Andkhud; and then after negotiations, he evacuated it, and obtaining a safe conduct returned to Ghaznīn.

At this time, a band of Khokhars had revolted in the neighbourhood of Lahore, and the Sultan marched against them; and Kutbuddin Aibak also marched from Dehli to attend on him. After chastising the Khokhars he returned towards Ghaznīn; and when he was returning, in a place called Damyak, which is one of the dependencies of Ghaznīn, he became a martyr at the hand of certain Khokhar Fidā'is.<sup>1</sup> This quatrain has been written to commemorate the date of the occurrence:—

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<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tab-i-Nās*, the Sultan was killed by a disciple of the Mulaḥidali sect, and as he had undertaken an expedition against them only two or three years before, it is by no means unlikely that they were the assassins. The *Jam-i-tawarikh* like the *Tab-i-Akb.* says that the assassins were Khokhars, but almost immediately afterwards contradicts the statement. The Hindus give a different account, which has been reproduced by Abul Fazl and by a certain history of Jammu or Jammu referred to by Major Raverty. According to their account, the Sultan was killed by an arrow which was shot by Rāi Pithorā who was still a prisoner. Chandā or Chāndā the court poet and eulogist of Pithorā induced the Sultan, after exciting his curiosity about Pithorā's skill in archery, to order that the latter should be brought out of prison to show his skill. Instead of aiming at the mark, he transfixd the Sultan who died on the spot, and Rāi Pithorā and Chandā were cut down there and then by the Sultan's attendants. According to the history of Jammu, Rāi Pithorā had been previously blinded, but in spite of this he was guided by the sound of the Sultan's voice, and the indications of Chandā, and succeeded in transfixing the Sultan. See *Tab-i-Nās*, trans., p. 480, note 3.

*'The Martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Mu'  
 From the beginning of the world, the like of w  
 monarch arose;  
 On the third of the month of Sha'bān in the year six h  
 and two,  
 Happened on the road to Ghaznīn, at the halting place  
 Damyak.*

The period of his reign from the beginning of his rule in Ghaznīn to the end of his life was thirty-two years and a few months. He left no heir behind him except one daughter. They say that he left much treasure in the shape of gold and silver and gems, including five hundred maunds of diamonds of the most precious kind; and the quantity of other treasures and valuables may be estimated from this. He invaded India nine times; was defeated twice; and was victorious on the other occasions. He was a wise, God-fearing King, who was merciful to the people. He held learned and pious men in honour and rendered services to them.

#### SULTAN KUTBUDDIN AIBAK.

He was a slave of Sultan Mu'izzuddin. In the beginning when he was brought from Turkistān, Kāzi Fakhruddin 'Abdul 'Aziz Kufi who was a descendant of Imām Abu Hanīfa Kufi bought him, and he read the Qurān with the Kāzi's sons, and acquired the polite arts. After that a merchant purchased him at a high price, and took him to Sultan Mu'izzuddin at Ghaznīn as a specially choice article. The Sultan bought him from that merchant for a large price. As his little finger was broken, he was called Aibak. He rendered service to the Sultan with discretion and loyalty; so that in a short time he received great distinction. It has been related that one night the Sultan held a great assembly to which he invited those who were nearly and intimately connected with him. In that assembly he gave large rewards to all his adherents and companions. He specially

<sup>1</sup> The translation of the quatrain is Major Raverty's. Some historians make the 1st Sha'bān the date of the assassination. The situation of Damyak is variously given. Some say it was a little west of the Jhilam; some on the Nihāb, and others that it was a village beyond the Indus on the route to Ghaznīn. See note 5, p. 486, Tab-i-Nāq. trans.

distinguished Malik Kutbuddin with liberal rewards and largesses. When the assembly broke up Malik Kutbuddin bestowed all that he had received, in the shape of rewards, to those who spread the carpets and arranged the furniture, and to other menials. The next morning when the Sultan heard this, he was greatly pleased and rewarded Kutbuddin; and raised him to the rank of an Amir; and honoured him by assigning to him the duties of personally attending before the throne; and his affairs continually became more and more flourishing.

At the time when the Sultans of Ghur and Ghaznīn and Bāmiān advanced with their armies towards Khurasan in order to conquer Sultan Shah of Khwarizm<sup>1</sup> they took Malik Kutbuddin Aibak with them; and he met the troops of Sultan Shāh near Merv, i.e. near the Murghab river, and although he fought with great bravery and prowess, he was, owing to the paucity of his followers, defeated and taken prisoner; and was taken before Sultan Shah who ordered him to be imprisoned. When afterwards a battle took place between the armies of Ghur and Khwārizm, and the latter was routed, the servants of Sultan Mu'izzuddin placed Kutbuddin, bound as he was to a board with iron chains, on a camel and took him to the Sultan. The latter showed him great courtesy, and conferred robes of honour and other rewards on him.

Afterwards when the Sultan returned from India to Ghaznīn, he left him at Kuhrām, as his Deputy, and the feats which he performed during the Sultan's life-time have already been described. After the martyrdom of Sultan Mu'izzuddin, Sultan Ghiāsuddin Mahmūd son of Sultan Ghiāsuddin Muhammad sent, for Malik Kutbuddin, a canopy and the insignia of royalty from Firozkoh, and conferred on him the title of Sultan. The new Sultan came to Lahore from Delhi in the year 602 A.H., and on Tuesday the 18th of Ziḡa'da of the same year he sat on the throne, and unlocking the doors of generosity and benevolence conferred great gifts and largesses; so that he made

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the passage is not clear. The lithographed edition has Malik Kutbuddin Aibak Turk burdah. MS. A has Malik Kutbuddin ra burdah budand, where the nominative would be Sultans; i.e. the three Sultans of Ghur, Ghaznīn and Bāmiān. MS. B has Malik Kutbuddin ra mardān Yezk burdah budand, where Yezk appears to be a mistake for Turk; MS. C has ملك, بزرگ بزرگ بود which though legible cannot be made sense of.

gifte of lakhs, and bestowed on deserving persons more than they could ever conceive; and on this subject Bahāuddīn Ushī, who was one of the learned men of the age, wrote the following couplet:—

<sup>1</sup> Truly the bestowal of laos, thou in the world didst bring;  
Thy hand brought the mine's affairs to a desperate state.  
The blood filled mine's heart, through envy of thy hand,  
Therefore produced the ruby as a pretext (within it).

People called him Ḳutbuddīn lak-bakhsh (the giver of laks); and up to this day the people of Hindustan, when they praise anybody for his liberality and benevolence, call him Ḳutbuddīn Kal or the Ḳutbuddīn of the age (Kal <sup>2</sup> with the Arabic *kāf* maftuḥ and *lām* maksur meaning time).

After <sup>3</sup> a time (hostilities arose) between Ḳutbuddīn and Tāj-Uddīn Yelduz, who was also one of the Mu'izzī slaves, and who (after the death of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn) had become the ruler of Ghaznīn and had assumed the title of *badshah*, and the latter marched against Lahore with a hostile intent, and he and Ḳutbuddīn attempted to destroy one another, and the fire of warfare was kindled. After much fighting and bloodshed Tājuddīn was routed and went away to Karmān, and Sultan Ḳutbuddīn proceeded to Ghaznīn and

<sup>1</sup> The translation is Major Raverty's, see p. 572, Tab i-Nāq. trans. The mine of ruby is likened to the hearts of other sovereigns which are filled with blood (i.e. bleed) owing to their jealousy of Ḳutbuddīn's liberality, which they could never emulate.

<sup>2</sup> It is needless almost to say, that *Kāl* and not *Kal* means time. The *lām* Maksur would make the word *Kālī*, which would not mean time.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is evidently somewhat mutilated. Neither in the lithographed edition nor in the MSS. are there any words corresponding with "hostilities arose....." Then the latter part of the sentence, as given in the lithographed edition, is meaningless. MSS. A and B read *bar Sar-i-Lahor mukhasimat raft*, while MS. C reads *bar Sar-i-Lahor ba Mukhasimat raft*. This last is the most correct version. It may be explained that Tājuddīn had found it necessary to retire to the Panjab, which he chose to consider was a portion of his dominions, on Sultan Muhammad Khwārizm Shah having taken possession of Ghaznīn. He reached Lahore, defeated Naṣiruddīn Kabājah, and took possession of the Panjab. Ḳutbuddīn then marched into the Panjab and defeated Yelduz, who retired to Karmān. Ḳutbuddīn then marched to Ghaznīn and drove out the governor appointed by Jalaluddin, t'e son of Sultan Muhammad of Khwārizm.

remained there for forty days, spending <sup>1</sup> the time in amusements and dissipation. As he was constantly taken up with debauchery and drunkenness and totally neglected all affairs of state, the people of Ghaznī sent an emissary in secret to Sultan Tājuddīn and summoned him, and as the latter arrived suddenly, Sultan Kutbuddīn was taken utterly by surprise and could not encounter him. He had therefore to leave Ghaznī, and retire by the route of Sang Surākh to Lahore. Couplet:—

When the Sultan loses his head with wine  
His crown falls off unheeded from his head.

In the year 607 A.H. he fell with his horse while playing Chougān, and the front part of his saddle struck him on the chest and he died. The period of his rule from the date of the conquest of Dehli to the end of his life was twenty years, out of which he ruled independently for four years.

As seven of the slaves and noblemen of Sultan Shihābuddīn (Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad) Sām reached the dignity of independent rule, it appears proper that an account of them should be given here.

#### SULTAN TĀJUDDIN YELDUZ

He was a great and benevolent king and possessed laudable qualities and a handsome appearance. He was bought in his youth by Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, who distinguished him by assigning to him duties near his own person, and raised him to high rank. He showed him special kindness and favour among all his slaves. When he was made an Amir, Karmān <sup>2</sup> and Shankuran were conferred on him as fiefs.

<sup>1</sup> The above is a more truthful record of Kutbuddīn's proceedings during his forty days' rule in Ghaznī than what is given in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, according to which he bestowed upon God's people abundant benefactions and innumerable favours; and returned again to Hindustan (see *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* 'rans., p. 527).

<sup>2</sup> For a complete description of the tract see note 7, p. 498, of Raverty's translation of the *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* It appears that it consisted of several darahs or long valleys with hills on both sides and rivers running along the bottoms. The valleys are the Kurma or Kurram Darah which forms the upper portion of this tract, with smaller Darahs on either side, running in nearly transverse directions; the principal of these being the Sankuran now called the Shaluzān, Karmān, Zerān, Iḡḡ (i.e. Harriāb) and the Pāiwar. The lower portion of



Whenever the Sultan in the course of his expeditions into India passed through Karmān, Malik Tājuddīn feasted all the nobles, and made presents to them of one thousand robes and one thousand caps, and he conferred gifts on every individual of the Sultan's retinue in accordance with his condition. He had two daughters, and under the orders of the Sultan, one of these was married to Sultan Kutbuddīn Aibak, and the other to Malik Naṣiruddīn Kabājah. Malik Tājuddīn had two sons. He made one of them over to a tutor. The latter, in order to chastise the boy, took up an earthen water flask and struck him on the head with it. As the boy was predestined to die then, he died of the effect of that blow. When Malik Tājuddīn heard of this, he gave the tutor some money to pay his expenses of travel and sent him away; telling him that he should quickly get out of the way, and undertake a journey to some distant place before the mother of the boy came to know of the mishap. This anecdote furnishes clear evidence of his good nature.

When in the latter part of his reign, Sultan Mu'izzuddīn came to Karmān, he distinguished Malik Tājuddīn Yelduz with a special dress of honour and conferred on him a black banner, and it was in his mind that after his death, Tājuddīn Yelduz should succeed to the throne of Ghaznīn. When the Sultan died, the Turkish Amīrs and Maliks wanted to summon Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Sām from the Garmsīr country; and place him on the throne of his uncle. This they embodied in a memorial, which they sent to Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Maḥmūd. The latter wrote in reply that he preferred the throne of his father, i.e. the kingdom of Firozkoh and the Ghur country; and he sent a robe of honour to Sultan Tājuddīn, and a letter of manumission; and made the throne of Ghaznīn over to him.

In compliance with this mandate, Malik Tājuddīn came to Ghaznīn, and sat on the throne, and brought the territories appertaining to it into his possession; and once afterwards he was driven out of Ghaznīn, but he re-established himself there. He also fought with Sultan Kutbuddīn Aibak in the Punjab and was defeated by him,

the tract comprises Banu and Marwat. This tract must in ancient times have been exceedingly populous and flourishing, to judge from the remains of several cities still to be seen in it, and is still very fruitful.

and Ghaznī came into the possession of Sultan Ḳutbuddīn; but he again recovered possession of it as has been already mentioned. Then on one occasion he sent troops to Hirat to aid Sultan Ghīā-suddīn [Mahmūd] and defeated the Malik<sup>1</sup> of Hirat, Izzuddīn Ḥussein Kharmīl. On another occasion, he marched with his army towards Sistān<sup>2</sup> and besieged that city, and returned after concluding a treaty with Malik Taj Harab. At the time of his return he engaged in hostilities with Malik Naṣīruddīn Ḥusen,<sup>3</sup> the chief huntsman (of the late Sultan), and was defeated in the battle which took place between them. Then<sup>4</sup> after some time he advanced with his troops into Hindustan, and after a battle with Sultan Shamsuddīn in the neighbourhood of Tarāin was taken prisoner. He ruled for a period of nine years.

## SULTAN NĀSIRUDDĪN ḲABĀJAH.

He was one of the slaves of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn and became a ruler of consummate intelligence, discretion and penetration. He had served the Sultan in all ranks, and had acquired a perfect knowledge both in military and political affairs. In the war between Sultan Mu'izzuddīn and the army of Khita, Malik Naṣīruddīn Aitmar, who was the feudatory of Uchch, was martyred, and Malik Naṣīruddīn

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<sup>1</sup> Izzuddīn Ḥusen had conspired with Sultan Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh and had gone over to him. When the combined forces of Ghur and Ghaznī came he fled.

<sup>2</sup> This matter is mentioned thus in the *Tab'ī-Nāṣir*: "on another occasion Sultan Tājuddīn Yelduz led an army towards Sijistān and remained absent on that expedition for a considerable time, and advanced as far as the gates of the city of Sistān. At length peace was concluded between him and Malik Tājuddīn-i-Harab, who was the King of Sijistan." Major Raverty says in a note that no historian mentions any reason for Yelduz's marching against Sistān, and gives any details respecting this affair. Then he hazards a surmise that it might have been caused by the ruler of Sijistān proposing to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sultan Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Tabakat-i-Nāṣirī* Malik Naṣīruddīn Ḥusen, the Amīr-i-Shikār, showed disaffection towards Tājuddīn Yelduz, and engagements took place between them. Malik Naṣīruddīn was overthrown and retired towards Khwārizm.

<sup>4</sup> It appears from the *Tabakat-i-Nāṣirī* that he was sent as a prisoner to Badkīsh, and there he was slain, and there his mausoleum is situated, and has become a place of pilgrimage and is visited by suppliants.

Kabājah was stationed at Uchch in his place. He was the son-in-law of Sultan Kutbuddīn, having married two of his daughters. After the death of Sultan Kutbuddīn, he brought Uchch and Multan, and all the cities and fortresses and country of Sind and Tabarhindah and Kuhrām, as far as the Sarsuti, into his possession; and he obtained possession of Lahore several times. Once he fought a battle with Sultan Tājuddīn Yelduz who came from Ghaznīn; and once he was defeated in a battle with Khwajah Mu'idul Mulk Sanjari who was the Vazir of the Kingdom of Ghaznīn. When he finally became the ruler of Sind, many of the great men of Khurāsān and Ghur and Ghaznīn, after being overthrown by Chengiz Khān, entered his service; and he conferred favours and gifts on every one of them.

In the year 621 A.H. the Mughals came and besieged the city of Multan for forty days. Sultan Nāsiruddīn opened the doors of his treasury at this time and fostered and cherished the people with rewards and favour, and displayed great prowess and bravery. A year and six months after this, the Khajj<sup>1</sup> and the Khwarizm armies conquered Siwistān, which is also known as Shahsawan. Malik Nāsiruddīn advanced to drive them out and there was a great battle, and in the end the forces of his enemies were routed, and the Khan of the Khajj was slain. Sultan Nāsiruddīn then returned to Uchch and Multan. The remainder of his history has been given in the history of Sultan Shamsuddīn. The period of his rule was twenty-two years

#### SULTĀN BAHĀUDDĪN TUĠHRAL.

He was one of the bondsmen and afterwards one of the renowned nobles of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām. He had many praiseworthy qualities and charming moral attributes. When Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām conquered the fort of Thankir,<sup>2</sup> and placed it in charge of Malik Bahāuddīn Tuġhral, the latter

<sup>1</sup> See Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 539, where it is said that it was a body of this tribe of Khajj and a portion of the army of Khwārizm that overran the district of Mansurah in Siwistan.

<sup>2</sup> The lithographed edition and MSS. A and B read Bhakar but from the context this cannot be correct. MS. C is correct and reads Thankir. There is a great deal of confusion about the date and the circumstances connected with the conquest of this fort. See Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 545, and note 5.

built a fort<sup>1</sup> in the country of Biānah and took up his residence there, and he constantly rode towards Gwalior and raided the neighbourhood of that place. Sultan Mu'izzuddin Muhammad Sām at the time when he was returning from Gwalior told Tughrāl, that if the fort should be conquered, it would be conferred on him. So the latter built a strong fort within two leagues of Gwalior and taking up his residence in it with his troops, he constantly ravaged the surrounding country. When a year passed in this way, and the garrison of Gwalior was reduced to great distress, they sent envoys to Sultan Kutbuddin Aibak with presents and offerings; and surrendered the fort to him. This became a cause of hostility between Sultan Kutbuddin Aibak and Malik Bahāuddin Tughrāl. In a short time (after this, the latter) died.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE RULE OF IKHTIYARUDDIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYAR KHLIJI.

He was one of the great men of the country of Ghur and Garin-str. He was largely endowed with liberality and bravery and wisdom. In the time of Sultan Mu'izzuddin Muhammad Sām, he came to Ghaznīn. Thence he came to India and joined the service of Malik Mu'azzam Husamuddin Aghulbak who held in fief some pergasas in the Doab and beyond the Ganges. After he had repeatedly shown signs of courage and prowess the fiefs of Kampilah<sup>2</sup> and Patiali

<sup>1</sup> Which he named Sultan kot. Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> These names are given as in the text, or slightly differently, in the lithographed edition as well as in the three MSS. Major Raverty has however found that they were written as Bhagwat or Bhugwat and Bhluli or Bhiwali in the oldest copies of the Tab-i-Nās.; and he has also found that two pergasas still bear these names between the Ganges and the Karmanāsā, to the eastward of and adjoining Chunargarh, and he is therefore of opinion that these were their correct names. He finds a corroboration of the idea that the fiefs were situated in that part of India from the fact that places bearing the names given by others to the fiefs, which in their modern anglicized form are Patetah and Kuntil (or Kuntila), are situated not far from Perganas Bhagwat and Bhioli. Some later writers (the author of the Tab-i-Akb. among them) have given the fiefs the name of Patiali and Kampila, but these places are more than three degrees west and the same distance north of the places mentioned in the oldest copies of the Tab-i-Nās., and from the place where the fiefs appear to have been actually situated, to enable their being made the base of Ikhtiyaruddin's raid's into Behar.

were conferred on him; and he was very active and bold in making raids and in otherwise exerting himself. He constantly marched towards Behar and Muner,<sup>1</sup> and raided that tract and acquired much booty. When Sultan Kutbuddin heard of his deeds of boldness and intrepidity, he sent an imperial robe of honour and standard for him; and Malik Ikhtiyaruddin, having with the help, and favour, and encouragement of the Sultan, conquered the fort of Behar, plundered and ravaged the whole of that country, and acquired much booty. He made the inhabitants of the country who were all old and ascetic Brāhmans, and had their heads shaven, food for his merciless sword. In the language of Hindustan, a college is called a Behar,<sup>2</sup> and as this province had formerly been a mine of learning, it had got the name of Behar:

After this, when Ikhtiyāruddin joined the service of Sultan Kutbuddin, he received many benefactions and favours from him, so much so, that he became the subject of the envy of the other nobles; and the latter, who could not endure to see so many favours showered on him, uttered words in the Sultan's presence, expressive of their contempt and hatred of him. It happened one day that Sultan Kutbuddin held a court in the white castle and received the great nobles. A must<sup>3</sup> (rampant) elephant was brought there, and the people said that there was not another elephant in the whole of India that could stand in front of it, and could withstand a shock from it. The Sultan made a sign to Muhammad Bakhtiyār to fight with that elephant, when the latter struck such a blow with the mace, which he had in his hand, on its trunk, that it at once turned round and fled discomfited. The Sultan on seeing this was struck with amazement; and he conferred many rewards and favour on Ikhtiyāruddin, and entrusted the rule of the country of Lakhnauti to him, and nominated him for the duty of conquering it. As he had already conquered the fort of Behar, the fame of his bravery and prowess had reached the people of Lakhnauti. All the Brāhmans and astro-

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<sup>1</sup> A very old place, at the confluence of the Sone with the Ganges, on the right bank of the former.

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit vihāra a monastery.

<sup>3</sup> \* The different versions of this anecdote have been given in the *Tab-i-Nās*, trans., p. 554, and in note 5, p. 553.

logers went to Lakhmania<sup>1</sup> son of Rai Lakhman, whose capital was at Nudiar, and whom all the Râis of Hindustan considered to be their leader<sup>2</sup> and guide, and held in great honour and reverence; and explained to him that it was noted in their ancient books, that the country would come into the possession of the Turks, i.e. the Musalmâns, and that the prophecy was about to be fulfilled, as the Turks had taken possession of Behar, and the next year they would take the whole of his kingdom into their possession. Lakhmania asked, whether any particular sign, by which the man who would conquer the realm could be identified, was noted in their astrological books? They answered, 'Yes, when the man should stand upright on his two feet, and stretch his arms downwards, the tips of his fingers would reach beyond his knee caps.' Rai Lakhmania sent men to ascertain whether these indications were to be found in the commander of the Turks. When it was known that these indications were correct, all the Brahmans and astrologers left the country, and went away to the courts of Kamrud and Jagarnath. Rai Lakhmania did not consider it advisable to leave his kingdom. The next year Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyâr started from Behar, and with a small force reached the city of Nudiar by successive rapid marches. Lakhmania in great confusion embarked in a boat and escaped; and all his treasure and the paraphernalia of state, which were beyond the bounds of all account and calculation, fell into Muhammad Bakhtiyâr's hands. The latter devastated the city of Nudiar, and in place of it, founded another city, which has become Lakhnauti; and made it his capital, and today that city is in ruins and is known as Gour.

In short, Muhammad Bakhtiyâr assumed the canopy, and had prayers read, and coin struck in his own name; and founded mosques and Khānkahs<sup>3</sup> and colleges, in the place of the temples of the heathen; and he sent many precious articles for the acceptance of Sultan Kutbuddin Aibak, out of the booty which he had acquired.

<sup>1</sup> The name is given in the lithographed edition as Lakhmanesh, and in the MSS. as Lakhmania, Lakhmāni sah and Lakhmah.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that he was their spiritual guide, because he evidently did not possess such power as to entitle him to be described as lord paramount. There is no reason however to hold that he was specially honoured as the spiritual guide or head of all the rulers of India. Probably he was held in great honour on account of his age and character.

<sup>3</sup> Asylums for darwâshes or religious mendicants.

After the lapse of a further period, when his power and grandeur had reached a stage of perfection, the determination to conquer Tibbat and Turkistan, found a way into his mind, and he advanced towards those countries with twelve thousand well armed and well equipped mounted troops, taking Amir <sup>1</sup> 'Ali Mej, who had been converted by him to Islam, as his guide. He reached a city which bore the name of Bardhan;<sup>2</sup> and in front of that city there was a river, which in depth and width was four times the size of the Ganges, and the name of that river was the Begmati.<sup>3</sup> They say that when Shāh Karshāsp returned from the country of Turkistan, towards Hindustan, by way of Bardhan; he erected a bridge over this river, and passed over it and came towards Kāmruḍ. In short, when Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār reached the head of that bridge, he left two of his trustworthy companions there, in order to guard it, while he himself crossed over and entered the country of Tibbat. Then he traversed high and impassable mountain ranges for ten days; <sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The lithographed edition calls him Amir 'Ali Sheikh; the MSS. are not very distinct, but I think they read Mej. To this day a portion of the Mongol aborigines in the N. and N. E. of Bengal are called by the name of Meeh or Mej (see note 4, p. 560, Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans.).

<sup>2</sup> The name of the city according to the Ṭabākat-i-Nāṣiri (p. 561 of the trans.) was Bardhan Kot.

<sup>3</sup> The lithographed edition and two of the MSS. say that the name of the city شهر is Tamkadi or Namkadi or something like that. MS. C is correct so far as it substitutes the word نهر for شهر, but it calls the Nahr, Nenkaḍi. Major Raverty (see note 1, p. 561 of his trans. of the Ṭab-i Nāṣ. says that the name of the river is given in the best and oldest copies of the Ṭabakat-i-Nāṣiri as Begmati, but some others, the next best copies, have Beghati, Bākmati or Bagmati, and others have Bangmati, Magmandi and Nangmati or Nagmati. Bāgmati, as he says, is not an uncommon name for a river, and is applied to more than one. The river of Nepal which lower down is called the Grandhak (sic) is called Bāgmati. The men who copied the Ṭab-i-Akbari have gone further astray than those who copied the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.

<sup>4</sup> The Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. makes the march a much longer one. According to it, the army marched for ten days up the river among the mountains, and then crossed it by a bridge of hewn stones, which had been built in remote times and consisted of upwards of twenty arches. After passing over the bridge, the army marched for a period of fifteen days through defiles and passes, ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. It was here that the fort of great strength was situated.

then reached a place where there was a lofty fort extremely strongly built and almost impregnable. The garrison came out to give battle, and the battle and slaughter went on to the end of the day, and many of Muhammad Bakhtiyār's soldiers were killed or wounded. When night came on, he encamped round the fort and remained there. He then made <sup>1</sup> enquiries about the country and its peculiarities, and it became certain that five leagues from this place, there was a city called Karamsen <sup>2</sup> where there were fifty thousand blood-thirsty Turkish spearmen.<sup>3</sup> As the army of Islam was worn out with fatigue after its long journey, and did not have the strength to encounter and overcome such a force on hearing this news, Bakhtiyār left the place, and returned to the head of the bridge of Bardhan.

He found that two of the arches of the bridge were, owing to the dissensions between the two Amīrs, left in charge of it, broken.<sup>4</sup> He was thunderstruck, and determined that the army should fortify itself in some strong place, till boats could be built, and all the other preparations made for crossing the river. The scouts brought the information that there was a temple in the neighbourhood, which was very strong and lofty. Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār with all his

<sup>1</sup> The *Ṭab-i-Nās* says that the information was obtained from such of the garrison as were taken prisoners.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the city is clearly Karamsen in the lithographed edition and in MSS. B and C. It is Karunan in MS. A. Major Raverty says that the oldest copies of the *Ṭab-i-Nās* have Karbattan, Karpattan, or Karārbattan, or Karārpattan; other copies have Karampattan. The *Zubdat-ut-tawārikh* has Karship or Karantan. Other works have Karam Sin. He hazards a surmise, that the place may be identical with Dharampattan, which was the ancient name of Bhātighun, the Benares of the Gurkha dominions, which was once a large place, or with Lalitapattan which was in ancient times the seat of an independent ruler; and lies near the Bagmati river; but both these places are too far south and west to be the city here indicated.

<sup>3</sup> The lithographed edition and two of the MSS. have spearmen, MS. A has archers.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of course is that the Amīrs had quarrelled, and had not guarded the bridge; and the people of the country had broken down two of the arches. The *Ṭab-i-Nās* says that the Amīrs had, owing to their disputes, neglected to secure the bridge, and to protect the road, and the Hindus of the Kāmrud country had come and destroyed the bridge. The *Zubdat-ut-tawārikh* says that the two Amīrs, to spite each other, abandoned guarding the bridge, and each went his own way; Badāuni says they first fought, and afterwards abandoned the bridge.



noblemen went into it and fortified themselves. At this time the Rāi<sup>1</sup> of Kāmruḍ came to know that Muhammad Bakhtiyār had taken shelter in the temple, in a state of great distress and misery. He issued orders throughout his dominions, and the people came in great crowds and planted<sup>2</sup> spiked bamboos into the ground, all round the temple, and wove them together; and placed them upright on the wall of the temple. When Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār saw himself caught in this snare of danger, he came out of the temple and encamped on the bank of the Bagmati; and occupied himself with preparations for crossing the river. Suddenly a horseman waded into the water to the distance of the flight of an arrow; and the soldiers thought that the river could be forded. They all at once struck into the water; but as it was not fordable beyond the point to which the horseman had waded, many were drowned. May the mercy of God be upon them! After many of the soldiers had been drowned, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār crossed the river, with a few, with great difficulty and arrived at Deukot.<sup>3</sup>

Bakhtiyār fell ill on account of the great grief and anxiety which oppressed his mind. He said to his adherents, "Perhaps some great calamity has overtaken Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Muhammad Sām, that I have fallen on evil days and fortune has left me stranded." It so happened that in these very days Sultān Mu'izzuddīn attained to martyrdom. Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār died of this same malady, and journeyed to the abode permanent. It is said that one of his great nobles, whose name was 'Alī Mardān, came to Deukot from his fief of Barsoli,<sup>4</sup> when he heard of the catastrophe

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<sup>1</sup> This is the first mention of the Rāi of Kāmruḍ (Kamrup) in the *Tab-i Akb.*, but according to the *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* he sent men to Muhammad Bakhtiyār, when the latter crossed the river, on his way to Tibbat, and tried to dissuade him from undertaking the expedition that year; and promised that he would himself precede the Musalman army next year with his own forces and assist Bakhtiyār to acquire the country.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only meaning, which the passage, as given in the lith. ed. and in the MSS., which agree except in respect to one word, can bear; but the meaning apparently is that the people made a bamboo stockade round the temple.

<sup>3</sup> In what is now the Dinajpur district. Those who escaped, appear to have crossed the river on rafts.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the fief is given as Barsol or Barsul in the lith. ed. In the

which had overtaken his chief. At this time the latter was lying on the bed of sickness. No one went near him. 'Alī Mardān went to him; drew off the sheet from his face; and with one blow of his dagger killed him. This happened in the year 602 A.H.

'IZZUDDĪN MUHAMMAD SHERWĀN.<sup>1</sup>

He and his brother<sup>2</sup> were among the great nobles of Muhammad Bakhtiyār. This Muhammad Sherwān was very brave and active and shrewd; so much so, that on the day on which Muhammad Bakhtiyār captured the city of Nudiar and routed Lakhmania, and dispersed his forces, Muhammad Sherwān, single-handed, captured eighteen elephants with the drivers in a forest, and guarded them there. After three days, when Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār heard of this, he sent a body of horsemen, who drove the elephants before them; and brought them before him.

When Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār marched with his army towards Tibbat and Kāmṛūd, he sent Muhammad Sherwān and his brother, with a body of his own troops, in the direction of Jājnagar. After Muhammad Bakhtiyār had met with his great catastrophe, Muhammad Sherwān and his brother came from Jājnagar to Deokot and performed the mourning rites (for Muhammad Bakhtiyār), and they<sup>3</sup> went from there to Barsoli with a body of the Jājnagar army;

MSS. it is written as Barsolf or Barsūli or Parsūli. It appears that in the oldest and best copies of the *Ṭab-i-Nāg*, it is written as Narankoe.

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as Shirwān or Sherwān in the lith. ed. and in two of the MSS. without an *ی* after the *ش*. In the third MS. there is an *ی*. The name is given as Sherān in the *Ṭabakat-i-Nāqiri*. Major Raverty says however that some other authors have written it as Sherwān. He says that Sherān is plural of Sher, lion, tiger, and the plural is intended to express the superlative degree, so that Sherān means very brave lion or tiger.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. ed. and MS. A speak of the brothers of Muhammad Sherwān, i.e. according to them he had more than one brother, MSS. B and C always speak of his brother in the singular. The *Ṭabakat-i-Nāqiri* says distinctly, that there were two brothers, Muhammad Sherwān or Sherān and Ahmad Sherwān or Sherān.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. ed. and MS. C say that Muhammad Sherwān alone went to Barsol or Parsol. MS. A says that Muhammad Sherwān and his brothers with a body of the Jājnagar army went. MS. B is confused for after saying that Muhammad Sherwān and his brother came from Jājnagar to Deokot and per-

and seized 'Ali Mardān, who had assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiyār; and imprisoned him, and made him over to a Kotwāl (Police Superintendent or Jailor) who was called Bābā Kotwāl Iṣfāhānī; after which he returned to Deokot, when all the Khalj nobles acknowledged him as their head, and did homage to him.

'Ali Mardān, however, gained over Bābā Kotwāl; and escaping from prison, went to Dehli, and joined the service of Sultān Ḳuṭbuddīn Aibak, and made certain representations to him. In consequence of this, Sultān Ḳuṭbuddīn sent Ḳaimāz Rūmī<sup>1</sup> to Lakhnauti, and ordered that he should station each of the Khalj nobles, who were in those parts, at a suitable place. Ḳaimāz Rūmī went, and in accordance with the Sultan's order, posted each one of the Khalj nobles at a suitable locality. Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khalji, who from before the time of Muhammad Bakhtiyār held the fief of Kalwāi,<sup>2</sup> hastened forward to receive Ḳaimāz Rūmī and accompanied him to Deokot, which was assigned to him as his fief. When Ḳaimāz Rūmī returned from Deokot towards Audh, Malik Muhammad Sherwān and all the Khalj nobles who were with him marched to Deokot. When Ḳaimāz Rūmī heard this, he returned and gave battle to the Khalj nobles. The latter were defeated and went away in the direction of Tūs,<sup>3</sup> and there hostilities broke out among them and Muhammad Sherwān attained martyrdom. His grave is there.

#### 'ALI MARDAN KHALJI.

[He] was celebrated and notorious for activity, and bravery, and pride, and high spirit. When he escaped from prison and joined Sultān Ḳuṭbuddīn, he attended the latter, when he went to Ghaznīn. He was there captured by the Turks, and was taken to Kāshghar, and remained there. They say that one day Sultān Tājuddīn Yelduz went out to hunt. 'Ali Mardān also accompanied him. He then

formed the funeral rites there, it goes on to say that they went from Jājnagar to Bārsol.

<sup>1</sup> Major Raverty explains Rūmī as native of Rumilia. Rūmī, however, ordinarily means a Turk who comes from Constantinople, or any other part of European Turkey.

<sup>2</sup> The Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī gives the name of the fief as Kankuri or Kaskuri.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. ed. and MSS. A and B read Tūs. MS. C reads Sanṭūs. The Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣirī says that it was in Maksada and Sanṭūs that disagreement

spoke to one of the Khalj nobles who was called Sālār Zafar<sup>1</sup> and said, "How would it be if I finished Sultān Tajuddīn with my spear<sup>2</sup> and made thee the bādhāh?" Sālār Zafar was a wise and righteous man, and did not have the lust of empire in his heart. He forbade 'Alī Mardān's doing such an evil deed, and giving him two Arab horses, sent him away towards Hindustān.

When he again reached the court of Sultān Kuṭbuddīn and joined his service, he was honoured with various favours and gifts, and the dominion of Lakhnauti was given to him in Jāigir; and he started on his journey to that place. After he had crossed the Kusi, Malik Hishāmuddīn Iwaz Khalji advanced from Deokot to meet him. On arrival at Deokot, he was placed on the seat of power; and took possession of the entire country of Lakhnauti. After Sultān Kuṭbuddīn had been united with the Divine Mercy, he assumed the royal canopy and had the Khutba read and Sikka struck in his own name; and took the title of Sultan 'Alāuddīn. He had so much pride and hauteur that he distributed the kingdoms of Irān and Turān among his nobles; and he was such an oppressor and tyrant, that no one had the hardihood to tell him that these countries were outside his dominions.

When evil thou hast done, think not thyself from danger safe;  
For nature herself, for evil done, doth punishment provide.

When his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Khalj nobles conspired together and slew him.

It has been reported that there was a merchant smitten with calamity, who complained to him of his poverty. He asked, 'Whence is this man?' They said, 'from Isfāhān.' He ordered a decree to be written assigning Isfāhān to him as his fief. The merchant did not accept the decree. The Ministers were afraid to bring this to the notice of the Sultān; but they represented to him, that the new ruler of Isfāhān had no funds for the expenses of the

arose among the Khalj nobles. Major Raverty says, that Makridah or Makaldah (Sic in note) may be the Mazadabad of the old Maps and old travellers. He also says that the Ṭabaḳat-i-Akbari has Sanjūs only, thus confirming MS. C. See Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., p. 376, and note 4.

<sup>1</sup> Major Raverty thinks that this name should be pronounced Zaffir.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. ed. and the MSS. all read  $\text{تیر}$  spear. The Ṭabaḳat-i-Nāṣiri reads arrow (see p. 577 of the trans.).

journey and of levying an army to bring the territory into his possession. Upon this he gave an order for giving him such a large amount as was beyond all his expectation.

After he had been put to death, the Amīrs combined together and placed Malik Hisāmuddīn 'Iwaz Khaljī on the throne.

'Alī Mardān ruled for two years.

#### MALIK HISĀMUDDĪN 'IWAZ KHALJĪ.

[He] was one of the nobles of the Khalj tribe, living in the Garmsir country; and had praiseworthy qualities and beneficent attributes. When he left his own country and arrived at an elevated spot in Turkistān, which was called *Pushtah-i-Firoz*,<sup>1</sup> two men dressed in ragged and patched cloaks, who were completely destitute of all provisions for a journey, and were traversing mountains and deserts, depending merely in the help of God, arrived there. They said to Malik Hisāmuddīn, "Master! hast thou got any provisions?" Malik Hisāmuddīn placed before them some cakes of bread, with some delicate condiments. The Darwishes ate with great relish and said, "Master, thou shouldst go to Hindustān, for a kingdom hath been assigned to thee out of the regions of that country."

#### *Couplet.*

One dressed in garments coarse, that on the ground doth lie,  
On a suppliant confers the kingdom of Zohak.

Malik Hisāmuddīn accepted this good news as a true prophecy in his favour; came to Hindustān; and joined the service of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyār; till the Almighty Giver of kingdoms made him the ruler of the country of Lakhnauti and he was named Sultān Ghīāsuddīn. Under his just rule, the soldiers and the people all lived in happiness and contentment. Many marks of the holy beneficence of that king of auspicious attributes have been left on

<sup>1</sup> It is so called in the lith. ed. and in MSS. A and B. MS. C calls it *Pushtah Afroz*. This is also the name given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (p. 580). *Pushtah-i-Firoz* would mean the mound of victory, while *Pushtah Afroz* according to Major Raverty means the burning mound. This is, however, scarcely correct. *Afroz* affixed to a word means what burns or inflames or brightens the thing which is connoted by the word to which it is affixed. *Dilafroz* means what inflames, or excites the heart, and not burning heart; so "*Shabafroz*."

the pages of time, which testify to the excellence of his intentions. The countries of Bangālah, Tīrhut, Kāmṛūd and Jājnagar all paid him revenue or tribute.

In the year 622 A.H. Sultān Shamsuddīn invaded Bangālah and the two armies met<sup>1</sup> and a treaty was concluded. Ghīāsuddīn gave thirty-eight elephants, and eighty laks of tangahs<sup>2</sup> to Sultān Shamsuddīn and read the Khutbah in his name. When Sultān Shamsuddīn returned to Dehli he entrusted the government of Behār to Malik<sup>3</sup> 'Alāuddīn Khānī; but afterwards Ghīāsuddīn went from Lakhnauti to Behār and recovered possession of it, and remained in possession till the year 624 A.H., when Malik Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd, son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, came from Audh to Lakhnauti, with a large army, at the instigation of Malik Khānī. At that time Ghīāsuddīn 'Iwaz had marched toward Kāmṛūd from Lakhnauti with a large army. Malik Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd took possession of Lakhnauti. Ghīāsuddīn 'Iwaz returned and gave battle, but was taken prisoner with many of his nobles and was slain.

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<sup>1</sup> There could not have been a regular battle. There might have been only a skirmish. According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* the armies did not meet as Sultān Ghīāsuddīn moved his vessels (war boats) up the river, while according to another writer he removed and secured all the boats on the river, so that *Altamsh* could not cross the Ganges (see *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* trans., p. 593, also note 6).

<sup>2</sup> The word *tangah* signifies a thin plate, leaf or slice of gold or silver. It is difficult to find out the exact value of a *tangah*. There were gold and silver *tangahs*. According to *Forishtah* who copied the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* a gold *tangah* was a tola of gold, stamped, and a silver *tangah* was equal to fifty *pūls*. A *pūl* (i.e. a piece of any thing orbicular) of copper (bronze?) being called a *jital*; the weight of which was, however, not known exactly. According to other writers a *tangah* was either the fifth, tenth or hundredth of a *rūpī*. As to the *rūpī* it appears that four *Jitals* = a *Gandah*, twenty *gandas* = one *anna* and sixteen *annas* one *rupi*; but the value of these denominations is not known and probably varied a good deal at different periods. The *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* says the tribute consisted of eighty lakhs of *treasure*. The *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* is more definite; it says eighty laks in silver *tangahs*.

<sup>3</sup> The name is so given in the lith. ed. and in all these MSS., but the second word may be read in the MSS. as *Khānī* or *Jānī*. In the *Ṭab-i-Nas.* (trans., p. 594) the name is Malik Izzuddīn Jānī, but it is said in note 1 in the same page that he is called elsewhere in the work, and in some copies of the text in that particular passage also, as well as in other works, by the name of 'Alāuddīn Jānī.

They say that when the auspicious Sultān Shamsuddin Altamsh (may God make his grave fragrant!) came after the death of his son Malik Nāṣiruddin Mahmūd to Lakhnauti, in order to quell the rebellion of<sup>1</sup> Malik Ikhtiyāruddin, and saw the marks of beneficence which had been left behind by Malik Hisāmuddin 'Iwaz Khalji with an eye of respect, he said with the justice, which was always a characteristic of his esteemed personality, that there was no objection in giving the title of Sultān to a man who had done so much good and performed such noble deeds.

His reign extended to a period of twelve years.

#### SULTĀN ĀRĀM SHĀH BIN <sup>2</sup>SULTĀN ḲUṬBUDDĪN.

When Sultān Ḳuṭbuddin departed from this world, as the world can not go on without a ruler, the nobles and the high officers of State, in accordance with the law of inheritance, placed Ārām Shāh except whom he had no other son, on the throne of Lahore; and sending out orders and decrees in all directions and districts, proclaimed the glad tidings of his justice and impartiality. While this was being done, the Sipāh Sālār (commander of the forces), 'Alī Isma'el,<sup>3</sup> who was the Governor of the province of Dehli, in com-

<sup>1</sup> This was Malik Ikhtiyāruddin Daulat Shah-i-Balka who according to some writers was a son of Ḳhwasuddin, and according to others a kinsman of his, who regained and ruled the territory for a time (see Ṭab-i-Nāṣ., p. 594, note 1).

<sup>2</sup> As to whether Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭbuddin's son, see note 4, p. 520, Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans. Some writers say that Ārām Shāh was Ḳuṭbuddin's son; others say that the latter had no offspring, besides his three daughters. Ārām Shāh was probably Ḳuṭbuddin's adopted son. Abul Fazl makes the astonishing statement that he was Ḳuṭbuddin's brother.

<sup>3</sup> This name is given in all the three MSS. The lith. ed. makes it Amīr 'Alī Isma'el in one place and Amīr Ali Dad or Waḍ in another. Major Raverty in note 4, p. 529, of his trans. of the Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. calls him the Amīr-i-Dad, which would mean the Lord Chief Justice, but he also says that he has been called Amīr Dā'ūd by some; and he also calls him the governor of the city or province of Dehli, i.e. the Amīr Diyār Dehli. The Sipāh Salar and the Amīr-i-Dad are not mentioned together in the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbari except in one place in two of the MSS., where the lith. ed. has ديد and the third MS. ديد instead of ديد, and it cannot be said with certainty whether they were the same person or two different persons. According to note 4, p. 529, Ṭab-i-Nāṣ. trans., they appear to have been two distinct persons, but according to the trans., p. 605, they were

bination with some other nobles, sent a messenger to summon Malik Altamsh, who was a slave, as well as the son-in-law of Sultān Ḳuṭbuddin, and to whom the latter had given the name of son also: and who was at the time the governor of Budā-ūn, and begged him to accept the sovereignty. Malik Altamsh came to Dehli and took possession of it. Ārām Shāh, who was in the vicinity of Dehli, gave assurances to the nobles and soldiers of his father and collecting them in a body came to Dehli. Malik Altamsh arrayed his forces on the plain of Jūd and gave battle. Ārām Shāh<sup>1</sup> was defeated.

Sultān Ḳuṭbuddin had three daughters. Two of them were married in succession to Malik Nāṣiruddin Ḳabājah, and one to Malik Altamsh.

After the death of Sultān Ḳuṭbuddin, Malik Nāṣiruddin Ḳabājah went in the direction of Sind, and took possession of Multān, Uchh, Bhakar and Siwastān. Dehli came into the possession of Malik Altamsh, with the help of the Amir-i-Daud and other nobles, and the country of Lakhnauti and Bangālah was in the possession of Malik Hisāmuddin Ḳhalj.

Ārām Shāh's reign did not extend<sup>2</sup> to one year.

one and the same. Major Raverty has noticed the fact that the command of troops seems incompatible with the duties of a judge, though he says that the Sipah Salār may have heard and disposed of suits with the aid of Kāzis and Muftis. This is rather fat-fetched. Besides the same person was also the Governor of the city or province of Dehli.

<sup>1</sup> What became of Ārām Shāh after his defeat is not clear. Major Raverty has adopted the reading of the passage in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* about the death of Ārām Shāh, according to which the latter was martyred or put to death. He says, however, in a note that all the modern copies of the text and one of the oldest also, say instead, that "the decree of destiny reached Ārām Shāh," which would leave it somewhat doubtful as to whether he died a natural or a violent death.

<sup>2</sup> Others contend that his reign extended over a period of three years. Major Raverty says that the inscriptions on two coins of Ārām Shāh and Altamsh, of which the former was struck in the year 607 A.H., and the latter in the year 612 A.H., and which is described in the coin as "the first of his reign," corroborates the statement of those who say that Ārām Shāh's reign extended over three years. It does not appear, however, that anyone says it extended over five years. On the other hand, it is distinctly stated both in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* and in the *Ṭab-i-Akb.* that Altamsh ascended the throne at Delhi in 607 A.H.



SULTĀN SHAMSÜDDIN<sup>1</sup> ALTAMSH.

There is a tradition that his father was named Ilam Khān, and he was the chief of a group of the tribes of Turkistan. His brothers, and according to another tradition his nephews, owing to the jealousy and hatred which they bore him in his youth, took him, like Yusuf (of old), to some gardens and fields for amusement; and then sold him by force to a merchant. The merchant took him to Bukhārā; and sold him to one of the great men<sup>2</sup> of that city. For some time he received kindly treatment and training in a family of generous people. Then as was predestined, a merchant named Hāji Bukhārī bought him and sold him again to Jamāluddīn Chust Kabā. The latter took him to Ghaznīn. As in those days no Turkish lad of a more handsome face, and with greater intelligence, had come to Ghaznīn, people spoke about him to Sultān Muḥammad Sām. The Sultān ordered that a price should be settled for him. There was another slave called Aibak with him. The price of each of them was fixed at one thousand Rukni Dinārs.<sup>3</sup> Khwājah Jamāluddīn objected to sell him at that price. The Sultān ordered that no one should purchase him, and the sale should remain in abeyance. After a year Khwājah Jamāluddīn went towards Bukhārā and took Altamsh with him. When he came back he remained in Ghaznīn for a year. People dared not buy Altamsh without the Sultān's order, till Sultān<sup>4</sup> Kutbuddīn

<sup>1</sup> I have adopted this form of the name in preference to Iyal-timish; for whatever may have been the spelling and pronunciation of the name in Turkish the spelling in Persian histories is التمشي.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, he was sold to one of the kinsmen of the Sadri-Jahān (the chief ecclesiastic) of Bukhara (see p. 602 of the trans.).

<sup>3</sup> The *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣiri* says that the sum of a thousand dinars of pure Rukni gold was specified for the two (p. 601 of the trans.), but it appears from a note that some copies have two thousand instead of one. This would agree with the *Ṭab-i-Akb.* which says distinctly that one thousand Rukni Dinārs was fixed as the price of each. The next sentence which is almost identical in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* and the *Ṭab-i-Akb.* shows that the price was fixed separately for the two slaves, as the merchant objected to sell Altamsh at the price fixed, but apparently had no objection about the other slave.

<sup>4</sup> I have called Kutbuddīn, Sultan as in the original, though he was not a Sultan yet; but only a Malik and also a slave.

Aibak came to Ghaznī with Malik<sup>1</sup> Nasiruddin Kharmil, after the victory of Nahrwalah and the conquest of Gujrāt. He heard of Altamsh, and solicited permission to buy him. The Sultān said, "I have ordered that no one should purchase him. The sale and purchase of him at Ghaznī is not desirable. Let him be taken to the country of Dehli and be sold there."

When Sultān Kutbuddin returned from Ghaznī he left Nizānuddīn Muhammad there, for attending to certain matters; and ordered that he should bring Jamāluddin Chust Kabā with him [to Dehli]; so that he might buy Altamsh from him. When they came, Sultān Kutbuddin bought each of the two Turks, i.e. Altamsh and Aibak, for one lakh of jitals.<sup>2</sup> He gave the name of Taghmāj<sup>3</sup> to Aibak and made him the Amīr of Sarhind. Taghmāj drank the sharbat of death in the war between Sultān Kutbuddin and Sultān Tājuddin Yalduz. Kutbuddin gave the title of son to Altamsh, and honoured him by keeping him near his own person. After the victory of Gwālior, he made him Amīr of that place; and after that Baran,<sup>4</sup> and the tract of country round it, were entrusted to him; and as Kutbuddin repeatedly saw marks of valour and of the capacity of leadership in him, he bestowed the country of Badāūn<sup>5</sup> on him.

<sup>1</sup> This name does not occur elsewhere. 'Izzuddin Kharmil, who was probably his brother, was one of the commanders in the army of Sultan Muizuddin.

<sup>2</sup> If a jital was only  $\frac{1}{16}$ th part of a rūpi, a lak of jitals would only amount to seventy-eight rūpis and eight annas; therefore either the jital must have had a far higher value than is ordinarily assigned to it, or the amount of lak jitals, which is the amount mentioned in the text, as well as in the *paikat-i-Nāqiri* and various other authors, must be incorrect. The *Tazkirat-i-Mulūk* says the price was fifty laks jitals, and Badāūn a lak of tangahs.

<sup>3</sup> The names of Taghmāj and Sarhind are given in the lith. ed. and in all MSS. According to the *Tab-i-Nāq.* the name of Aibak was changed to mghāj; and he was made Amīr of Tabarhindah. Major Raverty says that mghāj must have been superior in every way, at that time, to Altamsh, to have been at once made Amīr of Tabarhindah. I do not think that it necessarily follows that he was at once made Amīr of Tabarhindah. The role of his history is given in one sentence, and he probably rose to be Amīr of Tabarhindah after some considerable time. Altamsh also was probably honoured with the title of Kutbuddin's son, at once.

<sup>4</sup> Baran is the modern Buland Shahr. The *rief* of Badāūn, was some time afterwards the largest and most important in the kingdom.

When Sultân Mu'izzuddin Sām came to India, to put an end to the disturbances caused by the Khokhars, and, according to his orders, Sultân Kṛtubuddîn also went to attend on him, with his own army, Altamsh joined Sultân Kṛtubuddîn with the army of Badā-ūn. In the battle Altamsh, who in the matter of bravery and valour had become one of the greatest of the age, rode into the water in the full panoply of war and attacked the enemy. Sultân Mu'izzuddin noted his great bravery and energy, and sent for him, and distinguished him with rewards and royal favours; and he specially pressed and urged the matter of his promotion, and of showing kindness to him, on the attention of Sultân Kṛtubuddîn. At that very time, by order of the Sultân, the letter of his manumission was written, and he rose, step by step, to the rank of Amir-ul-Umra.

When Sultân Kṛtubuddîn died at Lahore, at the request of the<sup>1</sup> Sipah Sālār Isma'el, the Amīr Dād (the chief justice) of Dehli and other nobles, Malik Altamsh came with his followers and the army of Badā-ūn; and having taken possession of Dehli, assumed the title of Sultân Shamsuddin, and in the year 607 ascended the throne. Many of the Kṛtbi Amīrs and Maliks submitted to him; but some of the Mu'izzi and Kṛtbi Amīrs who had rushed forward from the different places round Dehli revolted against him; but as the lamp of his greatness had been illuminated by the light of Divine help, the attempts made by his foolish enemies to extinguish it had no other effect than their own discomfiture; and they all became food for the merciless sword; and the field of his empire was cleared of the thorns and weeds of their existence.

### *Couplet.*

Wrestle not with the pious one, accepted of God;  
For hard it is to overthrow one so accepted.

After that Sultân<sup>2</sup> Tājuddîn Yelduz the Mu'izzi, who was (now) the king of Ghaznīn, sent for him a canopy and other insignia of

<sup>1</sup> There are different readings in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. I have adopted the reading of MS. A with a slight variation, specially as it did not appear to me to be likely that the same person would be Sipah Sālār as well as Amīr Dād.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. ed. varies greatly from the MSS. here, and the latter also vary from one another. The lith. ed. is not quite intelligible. It reads

royalty; and after some time, Sultān Tājuddīn, having been defeated by the army of Khwārizm, came to Lāhore and took possession of it. Sultān Shamsuddīn advanced to encounter him, and in the year 612 A.H. there was a great battle between them within the limits of Tarāin; and Sultān Tājuddīn was defeated and taken prisoner. He was brought to Dehli; and was imprisoned in Badā-ūn; and he died there.

In the year 614<sup>1</sup> A.H., there was war between Sultān Shamsuddīn and Malik Nāsiruddīn Kabājah, who was the son-in-law of Sultān Kutbuddīn; and here also Sultān Shamsuddīn was victorious. There were several battles with Malik Nāsiruddīn in the neighbourhood of Lāhore, and each time victory fell to Sultān Shamsuddīn; till at the end, Sultān Shamsuddīn marched forward and attacked Nāsiruddīn. The latter strengthened the fort of Uchch, and betook himself to that of Bhakar. Nizām-ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi the Vazir and certain other commanders were nominated by Shamsuddīn for the task of pursuing Malik Nāsiruddīn; and the Sultān himself besieged Uchch; and seized<sup>2</sup> it after two months and twenty-five days. When the news of the conquest of the fort reached Malik Nāsiruddīn, he sent his son 'Alāuddīn Ibrāhīm Shāh to Sultān Shamsuddīn and prayed for peace. Shortly after this the news of the capture of Bhakar came. They say that after the capture of the fort Malik Nāsiruddīn was drowned in the river.<sup>3</sup>

Thus: "after this Sultān Tājuddīn Mu'izzi, who was the King of Ghaznī and whom Sultan Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām had sent a canopy and a *urbāsh* (i.e. a spear with two horns or branches carried before kings, etc.) from Iroo Koh and after some time when," etc. The MSS. do not mention Sultan Mahmūd bin Muhammad Sām at all in this connection; and they have instead of the word '*urbāsh*' '*Imārat*,' '*Alāt*' and '*adwāt*' respectively. The *Tabakāt-i-Nāqiri* says Sultān Tājuddīn Yelduz, from Lāhore, and Ghaznī entered into a compact with him (Shamsuddīn Altamsh), and sent him a canopy of state and a *durbāsh* (p. 607 of the translation), which agrees with the reading adopted.

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tab-i-Nāq.* these events took place in 624 A.H. Badā'ūni and the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh* agree with one author in saying that they took place in 614; but they are all wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tab-i-Nāq.* says that the hostilities at the foot of the fort lasted for three months, after which it surrendered on terms of capitulation.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear from this whether he was accidentally drowned or otherwise. The *Tab-i-Nāq.* says that he drowned himself (p. 544 of the trans.).

After this event, in the year 618 A.H., Sultan Jalāluddīn Khwārizm Shah being defeated by Chengtz Khān, came towards Lahore. Sultān Shamsuddīn went and opposed him with a large army<sup>1</sup> Sultān Jalāluddīn unable to withstand him, went towards Sind and Siwastān and thence escaped by way of Kaj and Makrān. After this in the year 622 A.H., Sultan Shamsuddīn marched with his army towards Lakhnauti and Behār, and brought Sultan Ghiāsuddīn Khalji, an account of whom has been already given, and who had acquired great power in that territory under subjection; and had the Khutbah read and coin struck in his own name; and obtained thirty-eight elephants and eighty thousand silver tangahs from him. He gave his eldest son the title of Sultan Nāsiruddīn; and placing the territory of Lakhnauti in his charge<sup>2</sup> and granting him a canopy and a *dūrbāsh*, left him in Audh, and himself returned to his capital, Dehli. Malik Nāsiruddīn fought with Ghiāsuddīn Khalji, who was the ruler of that territory; and defeated him. He took him prisoner, and had him slain. Much booty fell into his hands. He remembered most of the notable and known men of Dehli, and sent presents to each one of them.

In the year 623 A.H., the Sultān determined on the conquest of Rantambor, and marching with his army in that direction captured that fort. In the year 624 A.H., he advanced, with his army, for

<sup>1</sup> This does not appear to be correct. The Tab-i-Nās. in one place says (p. 293 of the trans.) that Shamsuddīn "despatched a force from his armies" against Sultan Jalāluddīn, while in another place (p. 609 of the trans.) he says that he "marched from Dehli towards Lahore, with the forces of Hindūstān, and Sultān Jalāluddīn Khwārizm Shāh having turned aside from the host of Hindūstān marched away towards Sind and Siwastān." It appears, however, that Shamsuddīn did not send any army against Jalāluddīn. He sent on the other hand an envoy with rich presents and supplies, and false excuses for the murder of Jalāluddīn's envoy (which he had himself previously instigated). Jalāluddīn was, however, not strong enough to bring Shamsuddīn to account; so he attacked the Khokhars, and after subjugating them, with their help established himself in Sind. He maintained himself there till 621 A.H. when receiving information that the army in 'Irāk wanted him there, he went there by way of Makrān.

<sup>2</sup> The charge was at first a merely nominal one; as Ghiāsuddīn Khalji continued to rule the territory till his defeat and death. Malik or Sultan Nāsiruddīn was apparently stationed in Audh to wait for a favourable opportunity for conquering Lakhnauti.

the conquest of the fort of Mandwar;<sup>1</sup> and brought that fort, and the whole of the Siwalik into his possession. The same year he returned to his capital of Dehli. Amīr Ruhāni, who was one of the learned men of that age, and who after the catastrophe of Chengiz Khān, had come from Bukhārā to Dehli, wrote some eloquent verses in congratulation of these victories. The following couplets form part of them :—

“The angel Gabriel, to the denizens of the sky, did bear  
The news of the triumphs of Shamsuddin, the Sultān great;  
Oh holy angels! that on the highest heavens do dwell;  
For this great news, in heaven build domes and arches high;  
The emperor of Islām, from the Mulāhida  
Hath wrested again forts as lofty as the sky,  
The warrior of the faith on whose arm and sword  
The soul of the impetuous Haidar showers praise.”

In the year 626 A.H., envoys came from Arabia bringing robes of the Khalāfat for Sultān Shamsuddin. The Sultān fulfilled the conditions of reverence and homage, and put on the robes of the Dar-ul-Khalāfat. He felt boundless pleasure and happiness, from the putting on of that robe. He conferred robes of honour on most of the nobles; and domes were erected in the city; and the drum of joy was beaten.

The same year, the news of the death of Sultan Nāsuruddin, who

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<sup>1</sup> The lith. ed. and MS. A has *مندر*, MSS. B and C *مندور*. The oldest copies of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, have Mandwar, others Mandud and Mandu, Bakhuni who copies from the *Ṭab-i-Akb.* has Mandwar in some copies and Mandū in others. The *Mirāt-i-Jahān nūrā* has Mandwar, the *Zubdat-ut-tawārīkh* Mandiwar and Ferishtah Mandū. The above is taken from note 3, p. 611 of the trans. of the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ*, but Major Raverty transliterates *مندور* as Mandawar, while I think it should be Mandwar. Mandwar (or Mandore according to Tod) was the capital of the Parihārs, five miles north of Jodhpur. Tod says that Mandore was taken from Mokul, the Parihār prince, by Rahup, who “obtained Chetore in S. 1257 (A.D. 1207) and shortly after sustained the attack of Shamsuddin (Shamsuddin) whom he, Rahup met and overcame in battle at Nagore”; so apparently both parties claimed the victory. The Siwalik apparently included the whole tract of country south of the Himālayah, between the Garo and the Sutlej, extending as far south as Hānsi in the Koh-i-Siwalik. Nagore was also included in the Siwalik. Some writers say that the Siwalik extended as far west as the borders of Kashmir.

was the ruler of Lakhnauti, came. Sultân Shamsuddin performed the mourning ceremonies for him; and gave his name to his younger son; and showed much affection for him. The *Tabakat-i Nâsirî* was named in his honour.

To return to the narrative, in the year 627 A.H., the Sultân marched with his troops in the direction of Lakhnauti and quelled the disturbances which had occurred there, after the death of Sultân Nâsiruddîn. He put Lakhnauti under the charge of 'Izz-ul-mull Malik 'Alauddîn Khâni<sup>1</sup> and returned to Dehli, his capital.

In the year 629 A.H., he marched with his army for the conquest of Gwalior; and besieged it for a year. In the end Milal Deo Basil,<sup>2</sup> who was the ruler of the fort, escaped at night, and the fort came into the possession of the Sultân. A large number of men were taken prisoner, and out of these three hundred were executed. Malik Tājuddîn Reza, who was the Secretary of State wrote this quatrain on the subject of the conquest of this fort, and it has been carved on a stone on the gate of the fort.

Every fort which the Sultân of Sultâns conquered,  
He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith.  
The fort of Gwalior,<sup>3</sup> that impregnable fortress,  
He conquered in the year six hundred and thirty.

After that the Sultân returned from there, and in the year 631 A.H., he invaded the territory of Mâlwah, and conquered the fort of the Bhilsâ. He also took the city of Ujain, and he had the temple of Mahakâl, which had been erected three hundred years ago,<sup>4</sup> and was extremely strong and massive, completely demolished, destroying it from its foundations; and he carried away the effigy

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> The first part of the name is given in all the MSS. and in the lith. ed. as Milal Deo ملال دیو. The second part is given as میل, مائل, پائل and ملیل. Major Raverty after giving the various readings in the *Tab-i-Nâsirî* and other works has adopted Mangal Diw the son of Mâl Diw (note 7, p. 619 of the *Tab-i-Nâsirî* trans.). Mr. Thomas (p. 66 of the *Pathan Kings*) thinks that the name may represent Trailokya Deva, the son of Bisla Deva, one of the Chandel Kings.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given in the quatrain, in one of the MSS. and in the lith. ed.; as گوالیر.

<sup>4</sup> The original is کہ تا مدت سہ صد سال تعمیر یافتہ ہون، which may be trans.

of Bikramājī, from whom the Hindus count their era; and certain other statues which were fashioned of molten brass; and placed them in the ground in front of the Jami' Masjid;<sup>1</sup> so that they might be trampled upon by the people.

A second time he marched with his army towards Multan.<sup>2</sup> This journey turned out to be inauspicious; and an illness seized him; and when he reached Delhi, on the 20 Sha'bān in the year 633 A.H., he wandered to the other world.

It is related in the writings of Khwājah Kutbuddin Bakhtiar<sup>3</sup> (may the mercy of God be on him!), which have been collected by Sheikh Farid Ganj Shakar (may their tombs be holy), that the desire of excavating a reservoir entered the Sultān's head. He went to the presence of the Khwājah [for his help] in selecting a proper site for it and asked his advice. The Sultān went to a number of places, but went away from them all, till he came to the place where the Shamsi reservoir (i.e. the reservoir named after Shamsuddin) is situated, when he selected it. When night came on, the Sultān saw the prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be on him!) in a dream, mounted on a horse in the centre of the spot. The prophet asked him, "Shamsuddin, what wishest thou?" The Sultān replied, "Oh prophet of God, I wish to excavate a reservoir." He ordered, "Excavate it here." The horse

lated as in the text, or as "which took three hundred years in building." Probably the latter is what the author meant.

<sup>1</sup> Not the present one, which was built by Shah-i-Jahān, but the first Jami' Masjid built by Kutbuddin and now known as the Kutbi Masjid.

<sup>2</sup> The Sultān is said in the *Tab-i-Nāṣ*, (p. 623 of the trans.) to have marched into Banlān (or Banyān). Major Raverty thinks that Banlān was the country immediately to the west of the Salt Range. Badauni and Ferishtah copying the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* have Multān, but apparently this is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> It is after this saint and not after Kutbuddin Aibak that the Kutb Minārah is named. He was a native of Ush near Baghdād. He came to India and first proceeded to Multan in the time of Sultān Nāṣiruddin Kabājah. Subsequently he came to Delhi. He was held in such reverence that Sultān Shamsuddin himself went forth from the city to receive him and do him reverence, and accompanied him to the city. He, however, took up his residence at Gīlukhari on account of the scarcity of water in the city. When Shams Jālūddin, the Bastāni, who was the Sherkh-ul-Lalām, died, the Sultān asked him to take that office, but the saint declined it. He died on the 24th of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 633 A.H. (See note 6, p. 621 of *Tab-i-Nāṣ*, trans.).



of the prophet (may the benediction and peace of God be upon him!) struck its hoof into the ground and a spring of water gushed out. The Sultân woke up from his sleep, and while yet the night was not passed, he went to the service of Khwājah Kṣṭbuddīn (may his tomb be holy!) and related to him what had happened. The Khwājah (may his tomb be holy!) says that the Sultân took him to that spot and with the light of a lamp they saw that a spring had gushed out.

There is a story that in the days when Malik Shamsuddīn Altamsh was in poor circumstances<sup>1</sup> in Baghdād, a number of Darweshes used to meet in his master's house, and enjoy such songs and religious exaltation as Darweshes and persons of spiritual experience enjoy. Malik Altamsh every night served the Darweshes with head and heart and wept on hearing their songs.<sup>2</sup> Kāzī Hamiduddīn Nāgōrī was the chief of the assembly. As the service of Malik Altamsh pleased the Darweshes, they cast a (kindly) glance on him; and on account of that glance the great and holy God raised him to the rank of Sultân. After an age, when he sat on the throne of empire in the country of Hindustân, and Kāzī Hamiduddīn Nāgōrī was engaged in instructing seekers after truth in Delhi, the Darweshes always sang and danced in his lecture hall. Two exoteric learned men, one of whom was called Mullāh 'Imaduddīn, and the other Mullāh Jalāluddīn, denying the propriety of the practice of singing and dancing, tried to induce the Sultân to forbid the Kāzī from indulging in such practices.

The Sultân sent for the Kāzī, and with all honour and respect asked him to take a seat. Those two men asked him whether singing and dancing were lawful or not. The Kāzī replied, they were unlawful for men, who were entirely rationalistic; and lawful

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the passage is not clear. The reading also varies. The lith. ed. has در دل رقیب بود, two of the MSS. have در قید دل رقیب بود, while the third has در دل رفته بود.

<sup>2</sup> In the lith. ed. and in all the MSS. this passage is given as سر شمع میگزشت "held the head of the candle," which is unintelligible. I have ventured to alter the reading. It will be seen that when Kāzī Hamiduddīn reminds the Sultân of what he did in the olden days, he says according to the lith. ed. بر سر شمع میگزشت though the MSS. here also say بر شمع میگزشتند.

for men of spiritual emotion. After that, turning his face towards the Sultân, he said, 'It would be in the auspicious recollection of your Majesty, that one night Darweshes and men of emotional experience were engaged in spiritual exercises, and you in accordance with your master's order, served the people in the meeting, and wept in the exaltation of your feelings. The Darweshes cast a glance on you, and you have reached your present high rank on account of that auspicious glance. The Sultân recollected the circumstances, and he wept and made the Kâzi sit down by his side and granted him many favours. After this he used to enjoy emotional exercises, and had great faith in the benefits (conferred by) Darweshes.

The Sultân<sup>1</sup> was very strict in the performance of religious duties and services. On Fridays he went to the mosque and strictly performed all prescribed and spontaneous duties. The Mulhids (schismatics) of Delhi were angry at this. They conspired together, and determined, to slay the king at the time of the public prayers, when the people would be engaged with their own devotions. They met together, and on a Friday they went armed into the mosque, and drawing their swords, martyred some men. The great and holy God protected the Sultân from the wicked designs of these men; and the ordinary people, mounting the roofs of houses, and climbing on walls, cast the band on the dust of destruction, with wounds caused by stones and arrows, and freed the earth from the shame of their existence.

*Couplet.*

The wicked to his wickedness doth e'er incline,

Like the scorpion which rarely into the house does go.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the close of his life, Fakhr-ul-mulk 'Usâmi, the Vazir of Baghdâd, who had been employed there for thirty years in the position of Vazir, and was famous and noted for his visible and mental greatness and perfection, owing to some worldly reason, which often

1. Minhâj<sup>3</sup> has not mentioned this attack of the Mulâhid on the great Masjid in the year 634 A.H.

2. The difference between the behaviour of the wicked and that of the clear.

becomes the cause of the sorrow and mental disquietude of great men, left his own country, and came to Delhi. The Sultan felt honoured at his coming, brought him into the city with all courtesy and reverence, conferred the office of Vazir on him, and showed him every mark of royal favour.

The period of the rule of Sultân Shamsuddîn Altamsh was twenty-six years.

#### SULTÂN RUKNUDDÎN FIROZ SHAH, SON OF SULTÂN SHAMSUDDÎN.

In the year 625 A.H.,<sup>1</sup> his father conferred Pergunah Badâ-ûn on him, and gave him a canopy and a *durbash* or two-horned baton. After that when the Sultân came to Dehli, after the conquest of Gwâlîor, he placed the territory of Lahore under his charge. When the Sultân in his last journey returned from Siwastân,<sup>2</sup> he brought Ruknuddîn Firoz Shâh with himself from Lahore; and on his death, the nobles and the great officers of State placed Firoz Shâh on the throne at Dehli, on Tuesday (the 21st Sha'bân),<sup>3</sup> in the year 633 A.H. The usual practice of making gifts and scattering money in respect of the high and the low was carried out. Poets wrote triumphant odes in praise and congratulation, and were rewarded with gifts and benefactions. Among them Malik Tajuddîn Reza, the Imperial Secretary, presented a long ode and was honoured with gifts and rewards. Two couplets from it are quoted here by way of memento.

May the perpetual empire be of omen good,  
To the king, specially in his time of youth,  
Yamîn-ud-dowlah Ruknuddîn who has come.\*

When he sat on the throne, the lust of enjoyment and pleasure kept him back from the work of government. Opening the doors of the treasury, he squandered and gave away the treasure. The rule

<sup>1</sup> The *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî* and the early histories all give this date, but Feriâhtah has 626 A.H. He is, however, no authority (see note 5, p. 631 of the *Tab-i-Nâs.* trans.).

<sup>2</sup> The *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî* (p. 631 of the trans.) says "from the cities of Baniân." See note 2, p. 69 (ante).

<sup>3</sup> The date and the month are taken from the *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî*. Feriâhtah who copies the *Tab-i-Akb.* has no date or month also.

\* The meaning of the last line *یامین الدولہ رکن الدین* is "the right hand of the empire, Ruknuddîn."

passed into the hands of his mother, who was a young girl and was known as Shâh Turkân. As she acquired great power and influence, she caused much trouble to the other ladies of the *haram*, of whom she had been jealous during the lifetime of the late Sultân.<sup>1</sup> She had a younger son of the latter, who bore the name of Kuṭbuddîn,<sup>2</sup> put to death; and emptied the treasury. The majority of Ruknuddîn's gifts were to dancing girls, and to people of the baser sorts, buffoons, and jesters.

The hearts of small and great, high and low turned from him; and Malik Ghiâsuddîn Muhammad Shâh, who was his younger brother, and had the government of the territory of Audh in his hands, turned his head from the rule of allegiance. Malik 'Izzuddîn Kabir Khân, the governor of Multan, and Malik Saifuddîn Kuji, that of Hānsi, sent letters to each other and raised the standard of hostility. Sultân Ruknuddîn moved out of Dehli with a large army with the intention of destroying these and encamped at Kilukhari.<sup>3</sup> In the meantime Nizâm-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidi, who was the Vazīr of the empire, out of excess of fear and dread, fled from Kilukhari and went to the town of Kol and joined Malik 'Izzuddîn Sâlar.<sup>4</sup>

Sultân Ruknuddîn considered the suppression of the disturbances which had occurred in the Punjâb<sup>5</sup> of the greatest importance, and turned his face towards Kuhrām. When he reached the neighbourhood of Mansurpūr and Tarāin, the following among the nobles who

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Tab-i Nāṣ*, incorrectly says that she had experienced envy and jealousy from some of the other ladies of the *haram*. As our author says, she had been jealous of them; and as soon as she obtained an opportunity, she had some of them put to death with much degradation, and treated others with great ignominy (see *Tab-i Nāṣ*, trans. p. 632, and note 5).

<sup>2</sup> He was the youngest of Ghiâsuddîn Altamash's sons, quite a child, by a concubine. According to the *Tab-i Nāṣ*, he was deprived of the sight of both eyes and afterwards put to death (*Tab-i Nāṣ*, trans., p. 633, and note 6).

<sup>3</sup> This was only a suburb of Dehli or one of the many new cities as they were called. It has been stated by some writers that it was founded in 686 A.H. by Sultân Mu'izzuddîn Kai-kubâd; but this is not correct. It was founded at a much earlier date (see note 2, p. 634, *Tab-i Nāṣ*, trans.).

<sup>4</sup> He was the feudatory of Badā'ūn.

<sup>5</sup> Our author has mentioned the feudatories of Multân and Hānsi among those who revolted, but the feudatory of Lahore, Malik 'Alâuddîn Jāni, was also in revolt.

accompanied him, viz. Tāj-ul-mulk Muhammad<sup>1</sup> the Dabbi (secretary) and Bahāuddin Husen, and Malik Karimuddin Zāsi (the Saint) and Zia-ul-mulk Sarwāni, and Khwājah Rashid, and Amir Fakhruddin detached themselves from the army and returned to Dehli.<sup>2</sup> They swore allegiance to Sultān Razia who was the eldest daughter of Sultān Shamsuddin; and placed her on the imperial throne. They seized Shāh Turkān, the mother of Sultān Ruknuddin, and put her in prison. The Sultān Razia was possessed of charming attributes, such as courage, and liberality, and wisdom, and discernment, and was gifted with manly qualities. Her father had looked after her with great care, and in his lifetime she had been initiated into matters of State and had been vested with certain powers.

When the news reached Sultān Ruknuddin, he returned towards Dehli and reached Kilukhari. Sultān Razia sent an army forward to encounter him, and he was seized and brought to Dehli and imprisoned, and in a short time after that, in that prison he died.

The period of his rule was six months and twenty-eight days.

#### SULTĀN RAZIA.<sup>3</sup>

In the year in which Sultān Shamsuddin conquered the fortress of Gwāliar, on account of the great intelligence and discernment which he found in Sultān Razia, he called together some of his nobles; and gave directions about her being made his heir. They ventured to represent to him, that it was scarcely judicious to make a girl the heir to his throne, when he had able and intelligent sons. The Sultān said, 'I see my sons indulging in drinking and gaming,

<sup>1</sup> The *Tab-i-Nās.* calls him Tāj-ul-mulk Mahmūd.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Tabakat-i-Nāqiri* (trans., p. 635) these men did not return to Dehli; but they and a number of other Tāj'ik officials were martyred or slain, by the Turk Amīrs and the slaves of the household. The authority of the *Tabakat-i-Nāqiri* is greater than that of the *Tabakat-i-Ākbari*, and must be accepted, but both Farihtah and Badāuni have followed the latter. According to the *Tab-i-Nās.*, it was the breaking out of open hostility between his mother and Sultān Razia, which necessitated Sultān Ruknuddin's return to Dehli. The people of the city took the side of Razia, attacked the royal *Kasr* (castle) and seized Shāh Turkān.

<sup>3</sup> Major Raverty calls her Raziyyat. Of course, grammatically he is correct, but she has, so long been called Razia that I have called her by that name.

and various unlawful and immoral habits. I don't think that their arms will be able to support the burden of empire. Razia, although she is in appearance a woman, yet in her mental qualities she is a man, and in truth she is better than (my) sons.'

In short, when Sultān Razia in the year 635 A.H. sat on the imperial throne, she again enforced the rules and principles which had been in vogue during the time of her father; but which had become meaningless and obsolete in the days of Ruknuddīn's rule; and she followed the path of justice and generosity.

Nizām-ul-mulk Muhammad Junaidi, who had been the imperial Vazir, and Malik Jānī and Kuji and Malik 'Izzuddīn Ayāz who had come together from different directions to the court of Razia, showing ingratitude for her favours, assumed a hostile attitude, and they wrote letters to the nobles in the various provinces; and instigated them to do the same. In this state of things, Malik 'Izzuddīn Hansi,<sup>1</sup> Jagirdar of Audh, came towards Dehli with the intention of aiding Sultān Razia. When he crossed the Ganges the hostile nobles, who have been already mentioned, advanced and seized him; and he, owing to an illness that seized him, died at this time. After this, within a short time, Sultān Razia by her able dispositions and vigorous plans<sup>2</sup> disunited the worthless nobles and threw them into perplexity, and each one fled in a different direction. Sultān Razia directed that the fugitives might be pursued. Malik Kuji and his brother were seized and put to death. Malik Jānī was killed in the province Pāyal,<sup>3</sup> and his head was brought to Dehli. Malik Nizām-ul-Mulk went away among the Sarmur hills, and died there.

<sup>1</sup> He is called Malik Nuṣrat (Nuṣrat)uddīn Tayassuf the Mu'izzi in p. 639 of the *Tab-i-Nās.*; and Major Raverty says in note 7, in the same page, that he was made feudatory of the province of Audh, by Sultān Razia, after the revolt of Ghiyāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh, younger son of Shamsuddīn Altamash, in the reign of Ruknuddīn.

<sup>2</sup> Major Raverty apparently objects to this statement (see note 2, p. 640 of the *Tab-i-Nās.* trans.) but I see nothing wrong in it. It is clear from the *Tab-i-Nās.* that the hostile Amīrs became disunited, and it is quite possible, and indeed probable, that this disunion was brought about by Sultān Razia's able management.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as Babal, Babul, and Babool by Elliot and Briggs and in the text of Ferishtah. It is given as *Babal* in the lith. ed., in MS. A it is given as Payal, and in MSS. B and C as Bayel and Mayel. Raverty (note 3,

When the power of Sultān Razia became greater, and her rule acquired form and system, the post of Vazīr was conferred on Khwājah Muhazzab, who had been the deputy of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, and he received the title of Nizam-ul-mulk. The command (deputyship) of the army was placed in the charge of Malik Saifuddin Aibak and the title of Kutlagh Khan was conferred on him. The province of Lahore was granted to Malik Kabir Khān Ayāz, and the territories of Lakhnauti, Dival, Darband, and the various towns and provinces were each made over to a noble. At this very time Saifuddin Aibak died, and in his place Kutbuddin Hasan<sup>1</sup> was appointed; and he was sent with a large force against the fort of Rantambor. He relieved and brought out the Musalmāns who were in the fort, and whom the Hindus had besieged after the death of Sultān Shamsuddin; but took no steps to hold the place. After he had gone away towards Rantambor, Malik Ikhtisruddin Aitkin became the Lord Chamberlain; and Jamāluddīn Yakut<sup>2</sup> the Abyssinian, who had been the lord of the stables, attained to a high position in the service of Sultān Razia, and became the subject of the jealousy of the nobles. He attained to such a pitch of intimacy (with the queen) that when Sultān Razia mounted, he placed his hands under her arms and placed her on the animal she rode.<sup>3</sup> Sultān Razia came out of the Pardah and wore the dress of a man.

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p. 640, *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* trans.) says Pāyal or Pāyil is the name of a very old place, giving name to the district, on one of the routes from Delhi to Lūdīānah.

<sup>1</sup> He is called indiscriminately Hasan and Husen; but according to Major Raverty the latter is the correct name. He was the son of 'Ali Ghūrī, and was forced to leave Ghūr through the power of the Mughals.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah, following our author, has turned him into an Amīr-ul-Umrā. As Major Raverty has pointed out, this title existed from Akbar's time downwards, but was not known in the time of Sultān Razia. Ziauddin Junaidi was, however, given the title of Malik-ul-Umrā.

<sup>3</sup> There has been some controversy as to the actual relationship between Sultān Razia and the lord of the stables. There is nothing about any help being given, by the Amīr Akhur to the Queen to mount, in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*; but what is stated in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* and following it, in Ferishtah and *Badshah-nāma* (the last saying that when she mounted an elephant or horse, she leant upon Jamāluddīn Yākfī), would very likely give rise to an idea of undue familiarity. In any case this would give a sufficient excuse to the Turk Malik to rebel against a sovereign who was sufficiently energetic to enforce her orders.

She put on the *Kabā* (coat) on her person and the *Kulah* (high cap) on her head; and sat on the throne; and granted public audience.

In the year 637 A.H., Malik 'Izzuddin Ayāz, who was the Governor of Lahore, turned aside from the path of allegiance, and laid the foundation of hostility. Sultān Razia marched against him, and he behaved with sincerity and became one of her adherents. Sultān Razia made over the province of Multān, which had been in the charge of Malik Kārā Kāsh, also to Malik 'Izzuddin; and returned. The same year she marched with a large army towards Tabarhindah. On the way the Turki nobles attacked her and slew Jamāluddin Yākūt who had been made the Amīr-ul-Umrā. They imprisoned Sultān Razia in the fort of Tabarhindah. They also placed Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shah, son of Sultān Shamsuddin, on the throne and took possession of Dehli. At this time Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altunia who was the governor of Tabarhindah married Sultān Razia by the *nikāh* ceremony<sup>1</sup> and Razia came towards Dehli with the army of Altunia; after having in a short time collected a body of Khokhars and Jāts and all the Zamindars of those parts, and having also gained over some of the nobles to her side. Sultān Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shah sent Malik Tigin, the younger, with a large army against her. The two armies met in battle; Sultān Razia was defeated; and went back to Tabarhindah. After a time, she collected her scattered forces; and making fresh preparations and collecting a new supply of munitions of war, she raised the standard of determination, and marched towards Dehli. Sultān [Mu'izzuddin] Bahrām Shāh again sent Malik Tigin, the younger, with a large army against Razia to fight with and destroy her. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Kaithal. Again Razia was defeated, and she and Altūnia fell into the hands of the Zamindars and were slain; and according to another version they were seized and brought before Bahrām Shāh, and he ordered them to be slain. This happened on the 25th Rabi'-ul-awwal 637 A.H.\*

<sup>1</sup> The *Tazkarat-ul-mülūk* and some other works say that Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altunia forced Razia into the marriage; on the other hand Elphinstone says, apparently without any authority, that Razia so far gained over Altunia by the influence of love or ambition that he agreed to marry her. The truth appears to be that both Razia and Altunia thought that a union between them would further the interests of both.

\* The account given above varies in some most material particulars from



The period of Sultān Razia's rule extended to three years and six months and six days.

SULTĀN MU'IZZUDDĪN BAHRĀM SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN  
SHAMSUDDĪN.

On Monday, the 28th Ramzān 637 A.H., Sultān Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh ascended the imperial throne, with the consent of the Nobles and Amīrs and Maliks. As Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn,<sup>1</sup> in consultation with the vazīr of the dominions, Nizām-ul-mulk, Muhazzab-ud-dīn, took up the control of the entire government of the realm into his hands, and married the sister of Sultān Mu'izzuddin, who had formerly been the *nikāh* wife of Kāzī Ikhtiaruddīn, in the *nikāh* form; and always kept a large elephant tied at his gate, when at that period none but the Sultān could keep one. These matters produced grave suspicions in the mind of the Sultān. The latter ordered certain desperate men (*Fidā-īs*<sup>2</sup>) and they martyred Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn with their knives. They also inflicted two wounds on the side of Malik Muhazzab-ud-dīn, but he escaped with his life.

After this Malik Badr-ud-dīn Sunḡar Rumi became the Amīr Hājib (Lord Chamberlain). He carried on all affairs of State according to the ancient laws and customs. It so happened, however, that Malik Badr-ud-dīn Sunḡar, at the instigation of a band of turbulent people, conspired with the judges, and other high officers of State, to bring about a revolution. On Monday, the 17th<sup>3</sup> Safar, all

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that given in the *Tabakāt-i-Nasirī*, which being a contemporary record must be held to have a higher authority. According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nasirī*, Sultān Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shāh himself led the army against Sultān Razia, and Malik Ikhtiaruddin Altūni; and the latter were routed, and when they reached Kaithal, the troops who were with them abandoned them; and Sultān Razia and Malik Altūniash fell into the hands of the Hindus, and attained martyrdom. It appears also that the defeat took place on the 24th Rabi'-ul-awwal, and Sultān Razia and Malik Altūniash were slain on the 25th Rabi'-ul-awwal 638 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> This was Malik Ikhtiaruddīn Aitkīn, who on account of Mu'izzuddin Bahrām Shah's youth was appointed deputy or regent for one year, see p. 649, *Tab-i-Nās.* (trans).

<sup>2</sup> *Fidā* means a sacrifice. A *Fidā-ī* is one who is ready to sacrifice himself in order to carry out the task assigned to him. The agents of the chief of the assassins were so named.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. ed. and MS. A have 17th, MS. B has 7th, and MS. C ١٧٠٠

the notables met together in the house of the Sadr-ul-mulk (the chief judge), Tajuddīn, who was the Secretary of the kingdom, and discussed about a change in the empire. They sent the Sadr-ul-mulk to summon the Nizam-ul-mulk, so that he may also participate in the consultation. Presently the Sadr-ul-mulk<sup>1</sup> gave intimation of the matter to Sultān Mu'izzuddīn. He also kept a man, in whom the Sultān had confidence, concealed in a corner,<sup>2</sup> and going himself to Nizam-ul-mulk, informed him of the meeting in which Kāzī Jalāluddīn Kāshānī,<sup>3</sup> Kāzī Kabiruddīn, Sheikh Muhammad Sāojī<sup>4</sup> and others were present. Nizam-ul-mulk, making an excuse, delayed his going to another time. The Sadr-ul-mulk represented the facts to the Sultān, through the man whom he had kept concealed. The Sultān immediately came to the place of the meeting; dispersed the men who were there; sent Malik Badruddīn Sunkar towards Badāūn; and removed Kāzī Jalāluddīn Kāshānī from his appointment; and after a time when Malik Badruddīn came to the court from Badāūn, the Sultān ordered him and Malik Tājuddīn Mūsā<sup>5</sup> to be executed. He also ordered Kāzī Shamsuddīn, kāzī of the town of Bārharah,<sup>6</sup> to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. This became the cause of great fear and alarm to the people.

which may also be taken as a mistake for 17th. The date is, however, given as the 18th in a translation of the passage in note 5, p. 653, of the trans. of the *Tab-i-Nās.*, although the 17th is the date in the text of the *Tab-i-Nās.* itself, see p. 652 trans.

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently a mistake. In the *Tabakāt-i-Nasiri* (p. 653 of the trans.) it is the Nizam-ul-mulk who sent intimation of the conspiracy to the Sultān. It is not likely that the Sadr-ul-mulk would give information to the Sultān, when the conspiracy was being hatched in his own house. Ferishta has of course copied the *Tab-i-Ākh.*, mistake and all.

<sup>2</sup> This also is a mistake. According to the *Tab-i-Nās.*, the Vazīr had a favourite and confidant of the Sultān near him, when the chief judge arrived, and he concealed him, and sent him to the Sultān, as soon as the chief judge had gone away.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. ed. and MSS. B and C have Kāshānī. MS. A has Kāshānī. The *Tab-i-Nās.* says Kāshānī. Kāshān is the name of a village near Samarkand and Kāshān is a city in Irāk.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. ed. and two of the MSS. have Sāojī and the third MS. Sāochī. In the *Tab-i-Nās.* the man is called Sheikh Muhammad-i-Shāmf (the Syrian).

<sup>5</sup> He was so called in the lith. ed. and in all the MSS. In the *Tab-i-Nasiri* he is called Tājuddīn 'Alī Masawi.

<sup>6</sup> The name of the town is given as Manahrah in the lith. ed. and Bārharah

In the midst of these things, on Monday the 16th Jamādi-ul-Akhar 639 A.H., the Mughal armies of Chengiz Khān came and invested Lahore. Malik Qarā Qash, who was the Governor of Lahore, found that the people of the city would not help him. He came out of the city in the middle of the night and started towards Dehli. The city of Lahore was ruined and desolated by the cruelties of the followers of Chengiz Khān, and an immense number of people were made prisoners. When this news reached the Sultan, he collected the nobles in the White Castle, and made them swear allegiance to him anew, and sent Malik Nizām-ul-mulk, the Vazir of the empire, with other nobles towards Lahore to check the havoc caused by the Mughals.<sup>1</sup> When the army reached the river Beāh near the town of Sultanpur, the Nizam-ul-mulk, who was at heart hostile to the Sultan, turned the hearts of the nobles from him, and laying the foundation of deceit and treachery, sent a representation to the Sultan, to the effect that nothing could be expected from the body of treacherous men, who had been sent with him; and that the disturbance would not be quelled, unless the Sultan should himself march to that part of the country. The Sultan, out of his simplicity and the confidence which he reposed in him, wrote in reply, that those persons deserved to be executed, and otherwise punished, and at the right moment they would get their deserts; but that he should, for a few days, temporize with them. Nizām-ul-mulk showed the farmān to the nobles, and made them all join him.

When the Sultan became aware of these things he sent His Reverence the Sheikh-ul-Islām, Sheikh Kutbuddin Bakhhtiār Ushi,<sup>2</sup>

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or Marharah in the MSS. In the *Tabāḡāt-i-Nāṣirī*, see p. 657 of the trans., the place is called Mihir. Kazi Shamsuddin of Mihir was thrown before the feet of an elephant according to the *Tab-i-Nāṣ*, also; but this was not because he was in any way connected with the plot; but at the instance of a darweah whom the Kāzī had persecuted, and who had now gained an ascendancy over the Sultan.

<sup>1</sup> It appears that the army which was sent to repel the Mughals, or to relieve Lahore, or to guard the frontier (all these objects were mentioned), was under the command of Malik Kutbuddin Husen, the son of Ali the Ghūrī, and the Vazir only accompanied it in a civil capacity.

<sup>2</sup> Here again our author has fallen into an error. According to the *Tabāḡāt-i-Nāṣirī*, it was the Sheikh-ul-Islām Sayyad Kutbuddin that was sent to the army. Khwajah Kutbuddin Bakhtiar Ushi, who was venerated as a saint, and after whom the Kutb Minārah at Dehli is named, died six years

in order to reassure the nobles; but they could not in any way be satisfied. The Sheikh returned to Dehli. After that Nizam-ul-mulk and all the nobles came to Dehli in order to destroy Sultān Mu'izzuddīn. They besieged him, and every day conflicts took place.

As the citizens were at one with the nobles, on Saturday the 8th of Zi-Ḳādah of that year they seized the city;<sup>1</sup> and after keeping Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, under imprisonment for a few days, had him executed.

The period of his reign was two years, and one month and fifteen days.

#### SULTAN 'ALĀUDDĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH.

When Sultan Bahrām Shāh was put to death, Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban sat on the throne<sup>2</sup> at Dehli, and issued a proclamation in the city. The Amīrs and Maliks did not approve of this; and presently they brought out Sultan Nāsiruddīn and Sultan Jalaluddīn, sons of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh, and Sultan 'Alauddīn Mas'ūd Shāh, son of Sultan Ruknuddīn, who were under imprisonment in the White Castle; and they placed Sultan 'Alauddīn Mas'ūd Shāh on the throne, in Dehli, in the month of Zi-Ḳādah 639 A.H. Malik Kutbuddīn Hasan was honoured with the dignity of the

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previous to this time. It appears also that the Sheikh ul-Islām, instead of trying to allay the sedition, used his endeavours in fanning it up, and in augmenting it. See Tab-i-Nās. trans., p. 658-9, and note 2. p. 658.

<sup>1</sup> The fighting round and in the city went on from the 19th Sh'abān to the 8th of Ziḳādah, about seventy-seven days, and during this time, according to the Tab-i-Nās., great numbers of people perished, and others were disabled, and all the environs of the city were destroyed. It appears that the disturbances were prolonged, because the Sultan was under the influence of a head Farsi who used to be styled Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh Farrukhi, and the latter would in no way assent to an accommodation. We do not know the terms of the proposed accommodation: but as they in all probability meant either the imprisonment or the death of his patron, we can not very well blame the head Farsi. See T.N. trans., p. 659.

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite clear whether he actually sat on the throne. It is said in one place in the notes to the Tab-i-Nās. that he proceeded to the royal *Kasr* and issued a proclamation, intimating his assumption of the sovereignty. In the text, however (p. 661 of the trans.), it appears that he *assumed the throne* within the royal residence.

Naib or deputy of the empire, and Muhazzabuddin Nizām-ul-mulk with that of the Vazīr. Malik Karā Kash became the Lord Chamberlain. As Malik Nizām-ul-mulk wanted to take the bride of the empire in his arms without participation by any one else,<sup>1</sup> the Amīrs and the great men of the age combined together and put him to death, on Wednesday the 2nd Jamādi-ul-Awwal 640 A.H.

*Couplet.*

One should not be proud of his greatness like a flower,  
For a strong flood soon carries away the embankment.<sup>2</sup>

The post of Vazīr was conferred on the Sadr-ul-mulk Najm-ud-din Abu Bakr; and Ghiāsuddīn Balban,<sup>3</sup> who at that time had the title of Ulugh Khān, became the Lord Chamberlain; Nagore, Sind and Ajmir were entrusted to Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban the elder; the parganah of Badā-ūn was placed in charge of Malik Tajuddin; and all the parganahs in the empire were distributed among the Amīrs according to their circumstances; and the affairs of the kingdom were put in order; and the people became contented and happy.

At this time, Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughā Khān,<sup>4</sup> who went towards

<sup>1</sup> This is a figurative way of saying that he wished to usurp the whole power. According to the *Tab-i-Nas.* trans., p. 662, he appropriated the district of Kol as his own fief; he had previously established the naubat and stationed an elephant at the gate of his residence. He also took all functions out of the hands of the Turk Amīrs. It appears that he was put to death within the camp before the city of Dehli, in the plain of the Rani's reservoir.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the couplet is not very clear; but I think the above is a correct translation.

<sup>3</sup> There is a certain amount of confusion as to the two Balbans in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, and consequently in *Ferishtah*, who copies it almost verbatim. The fief of Nagore was conferred on Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān, together with permission to have an elephant, to indicate that he belonged to the royal family. He was either the son-in-law or brother-in-law of Sultan Shamsuddīn Altamash. It was also he who had attempted to make himself the king. Nagore, Mandwar, and Ajmir were afterwards conferred on him. The other Balban was Ghiāsuddīn Balban-i-Khurd, who afterwards became Ulugh Khan.

<sup>4</sup> His full name according to the *Tab-i-Nās.* was 'Izzuddīn Tughril-i-Tughān Khan. Kāzi Jalāuddīn was the Kāzi and not the Hākīm of Audh; otherwise the account given in the *Tab-i-Akb.* is correct. *Ferishtah*, however, changed *Asha'ri* into *Sankuri*.

Lakhnauti, his own territory, sent the Sharf-ul-mulk, the Asha'ri, to Sultan 'Alāuddīn. The Sultan sent a red canopy and a especial robe of honor towards Lakhnauti for 'Izzuddīn Tughā Khan, by the hand of Kāzi Jalāluddīn, the ruler of Audh. He also released both his uncles from prison; and placed the territory of Kanouj in charge of Malik Jalāluddīn; and that of Bahraich<sup>1</sup> with its dependencies in that of Malik Nāsiruddīn; and they left marks of their beneficence on the face of time in those territories.

In the year 642 A.H. the Mughal armies<sup>2</sup> came into the territory of Lakhnauti. It is surmised that they came by the route by which Muhammad Bakhtīār had marched towards Tibbat and Khitā. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Taimur Khān and Karā Beg<sup>3</sup> to Lakhnauti with a large army to aid 'Izzuddīn Tughān. After the Mughals had been defeated, and had gone away, hostilities arose between 'Izzuddīn Tughān and Malik Karā Beg. The Sultān conferred Lakhnauti

<sup>1</sup> Major Raverty calls this Bharāj. The name is distinctly Bahraich in the lith. ed. and in one of the MSS. It may be Bharanj or Bharaj in the other MSS. Malik Nāsiruddīn was then only fifteen years of age, and the other was still younger.

<sup>2</sup> This is a ridiculous error, as Major Raverty calls it. It has been copied by Badā'ūnī and Ferishtah and from the latter by his English translators; and from them by English writers generally, including those of *Handbooks and Manuals*. The author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* was at the time staying in the Lakhnauti territory, and neither he nor the authors of the *Tarikh-i-Muharrak Shāhī*, the *Rauzat-us-Safā* and the *Zubda-ut-Tawarikh* mention any invasion of the Lakhnauti country by the Mughals. What Minhaj wrote was قار حاجنگر دو لکھنؤی آمدند. Some careless copyist changed حاجنگر into چنگیز خان and Nizamuddīn Ahmad used the incorrect copy in compiling his history, and other writers copied him. See p. 663, and note 8, in the same page of the *Tab-i-Nāq*. trans. The invaders were not the Mughals but the Hindus from Jajunagar (or Tippera) which must not be confounded with Jajpur in Orissa.

<sup>3</sup> There is apparently some confusion in these names. According to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* (trans., p. 666) the reinforcements were sent under one Malik, who was named Malik Kamaruddīn Kirān-i-Tamur Khan. Thomas (*Pathan Kings*, p. 121) calls him Tamar Khan. There is no Malik of the name of Karā Beg in sec. xxii of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* which is about the Shamsiah Malik. It would appear, therefore, that Nizamuddīn Ahmad made two men out of Kamaruddīn Kirān-i-Tamur Khan and called them Taimur Khan and Karā Beg. Major Raverty is, however, wrong when he says (note 9, p. 666) that "the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*" turns Malik Kamaruddīn Kirān Tamur Khan "into Izzuddīn Tughān Tīmār Khān Karā Beg and makes him quarrel with himself," etc.

on Taimur Khān, and Tughān Khān came to Dehli in the service of the Sultān. At this time news came that the Mughal armies had reached the neighbourhood of Uchch. The Sultān called his nobles and with great promptitude started towards Uchch. When he reached the bank of the river Biāsh, the Mughal armies, who were besieging Uchch, turned their faces, and fled. The Sultān returned to Dehli, crowned with triumph and victory.

After this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn turned away from the path of justice and righteousness, and took to the practice of malevolence.<sup>1</sup> Owing to this, all the nobles and great men turned from him, and combining together, wrote letters to Sultān Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd, the son of Sultān Shamsuddīn, who at the time was in Bahraich, and summoned him. When Sultān Nāṣiruddīn Mahmūd reached Dehli, Sultān 'Alāuddīn Mas'ud Shāh was seized and imprisoned in the year 644 A.H.,<sup>2</sup> and while under imprisonment he died.

The period of his reign was four years, one month and one day.

#### SULTĀN NĀSIRUDDĪN MAHMŪD.

[He was] the youngest son of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh and a just and God-fearing king, and of a holy and humble disposition. He befriended learned and pious men; and cherished the wise and the great. His praiseworthy and beneficent qualities are clearly shown in the *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, which was compiled in his name. He ascended the imperial throne in the year 644 A.H.<sup>3</sup> The Amirs and Maliks of the period rendered homage to him; and gifts and presentations were made, to the small and the great. Poets wrote triumphal

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmuddīn Ahmad has not attempted to explain this sudden change in the character of the Sultān. The author of the *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri* (see trans., p. 668) says he came under the influence of a number of very worthless persons in the army, and he became addicted to the practice of seizing and killing his Maliks. He also became addicted to sensuality, pleasure, drinking and the chase to excess. Thomas says that camp life and military associations had a bad effect on the Sultān's morals, and he took to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties. The deposition of Alāuddīn Mas'ud Shāh appears to have been effected with very little bloodshed. For the way in which Nasiruddīn was smuggled from Bahraich into Dehli, see *Tab-i-Nāṣi*, trans., p. 677.

<sup>2</sup> On the 23rd Muharram

<sup>3</sup> On the same day on which 'Alāuddīn Mas'ud was imprisoned, i.e. the 23rd Muharram.\*

odes, and were made happy with gifts and rewards. Kāzi Minhāj wrote a long ode and presented it (to the Sultān); the following are a few couplets from it :—

That great lord who is a Hatim<sup>1</sup> in generosity, and a Rustam<sup>2</sup> in energy,

Is Naṣirudduniā-wa-dīn Mahmūd, the son of Altamēh.

That world-king! from whose palace the roof of the sky,

In elevation and grandeur, thou mayest say is lower!<sup>3</sup>

The coin! what pride doth it feel from his auspicious title!

The prayer! how glorified is it by his fortunate name!

The post of Vazīr was conferred on Malik Ghiāṣuddīn Balban, who had been a slave, and also the son-in-law of his (the Sultān's) father.<sup>4</sup> He was honoured with the title of Ulugh Khān, and a canopy and a durbash (or two-branched baton) were conferred on him, and the whole of the administration of the empire was entrusted to his mature judgment. They say, that at the time of making over the charge of affairs to Ulugh Khān, (the Sultān) said, "I am making thee my deputy, and am delivering the control of the affairs of the empire into thy hands. Do nothing for which in the presence of the Almighty thou mayest not be able to answer, and mayest make me and thyself abashed and ashamed." Malik Balban Ulugh Khān laid the foundations of the rules of the deputyship in such a way, that every thing connected with the government came under his

<sup>1</sup> A man whose name has become proverbial as a pattern of generosity.

<sup>2</sup> The great national hero of ancient Persia.

<sup>3</sup> There are different readings of a part of the line and the meaning is not quite clear. The 1<sup>st</sup> ed. has *گوئی نرو دین بوش اسف* has MS. A *که دوزین* *گوئی* MS. B *که نروین* *است* *بوش* MS. C *که نردوسی* *وش* *اسف* and MS. *گوئی* *که نروین* *است* *بوش* *است*

<sup>4</sup> According to Major Raverty this is incorrect. According to him it was 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khan who, if either of the two Balbans were, was the son-in-law or brother-in-law (sister's husband) of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamēh. Our author was of course wrong when he said in an earlier part, when describing the various appointments, after the death of Malik Nizām-ul-mulk Muḥazzabuddīn, that Malik Ghiāṣuddīn Balban had then the title of Ulugh Khān. It appears that the title was not conferred on him, even at the accession of Sultān Naṣiruddīn. It was conferred on him three years later, in 647 A.H. It appears also that the statement that a canopy and a durbāsh were granted to Ghiāṣuddīn Balban by Sultān Naṣiruddīn at the very beginning of his reign is incorrect.



direct control, and no one else had any power in the transaction of any affairs of State.

In the month of Rajab, in the year of his accession, Sultān Nāṣiruddīn marched with his army towards Multān,<sup>1</sup> and on the 1st of the month of Zikādah, he crossed the river of Lahore (the Rāvi), and making Ulugh Khan the commander of the forces, sent him to the Jūd hills, and the districts of Nandanah, and himself stayed for ten days on the bank of the Sind.<sup>2</sup> Ulugh Khān plundered and ravaged the Jūd hills, and all that country; and slew<sup>3</sup> the Khokhars and other turbulent people living there; and then returned to the presence of the Sultān. The latter then on account of the want of fodder returned to Dehli.<sup>4</sup>

On the 2nd Sha'bān in the year 645 A.H. the Sultān marched towards the Doab,<sup>5</sup> and that same year (on the) 10th Zikādah he set out towards Karah,<sup>6</sup> and there made Ulugh Khān the commander of the forces, and the latter went forward and plundered and ravaged the places Dalki and Malki,<sup>7</sup> and returned to the service of the Sultān.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. ed. as well as all the MSS. read Multan; but all the MSS. of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* except two have Baniān, which must have been at that time the name of the hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Doābah. See notes 5 and 6, p. 677, *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* trans.

<sup>2</sup> So in the MSS. and in the lith. ed., but according to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* (trans., p. 678, and note 1) it was on the bank of the Sūlharah or Sūlharā (a name of a part of the Chinab) that the Sultān encamped with the camp, the followers, the heavy material, and the elephants.

<sup>3</sup> This plundering and ravaging and slaying do not indicate a very holy and humble disposition.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī* it was Ulugh Khān who had to return owing to the difficulty of obtaining subsistence and necessities for his troops.

<sup>5</sup> According to the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* (trans., p. 679) a very strong fort called Talsandah was first taken in the Kanauj country.

<sup>6</sup> The expedition to Karah was probably rendered necessary owing to the feudatory of that place, Malik Ikhtiaruddin Karā-Kush Khān-i-Aitkīn, having been killed in the preceding year. It cannot, however, be ascertained by whom and how he was killed.

<sup>7</sup> This phrase has been a puzzle. In one place in the *Ṭab-i-Nāṣ.* (p. 682 of the trans.) it has been written with a ى between Dalki and Malki, but in another place (p. 817 of the trans.) there is no ى between these words. The

On the 6th of the month of Sha'bān of the year 646 A.H., the Sultān marched against Rantambor; and punished the contumacious people of that neighbourhood, and then returned to Dehli. In the same year, Kazi 'Imaduddīn Shafurkhani<sup>1</sup> was accused, and was dismissed from his office; and then through the exertions of 'Imād-uddīn Raihān put to death.

In the year 647 A.H.,<sup>2</sup> the Sultān espoused the daughter of Ulugh Khān, and in the following year (648 A.H.) he marched with his army in the direction of Multān and on the bank of the river Biah, Sher Khān joined the imperial army. The Sultān on the 6th Rabi'ul-āwwal of the same year reached Multān, and after a few days Malik 'Izzuddīn was allowed to go towards Uchch, while the Sultān himself returned to Dehli.<sup>3</sup>

context would seem to show, that in the first place Dalki and Malki is intended to mean a tract of country, while in the second place Dalki Malki, or as Major Raverty transliterates the words here, Dalaki of Malaki is a Rānah. All that is definitely stated is that this Rānah's territory was in the vicinity of the River Jūn or Jamna, which is between Kālanjar and Karah; that he had numerous followers and much wealth; and that the country was extremely difficult, and it had never up to that time been reached by Muslim troops. A guess was hazarded that Dalki Malki was Trailokya Varma Deva, the 10th King of the Chandel dynasty, who reigned at Mahoba, Kālanjar, etc., but his accession took place in A.D. 1202, and he could not have been contemporaneous with Sultān Naṣiruddīn Mahmūd.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Kāzi is given in the *Tab-i-Nāṣ.* (p. 685 of the trans.) as Kāzi Jamaluddīn the Shafurghani. In the *Tab-i-Akhbari* the name of the man, through whose exertions he was put to death, has evidently been given to him by mistake. It does not appear what he was accused of.

<sup>2</sup> In the lith. ed. the year is put down as 640, and in two of the MSS. as 648 A.H.; the correct date is 647 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> The transactions of the year 648 A.H. have been translated as they are given in the book: but they are all incorrect, and are due to a misreading of the corresponding passages in the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri* by Nizamuddīn Ahmad, who has of course been followed, as usual, by Ferishtah and others. In the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri* (trans., p. 687), the author says that he went to Multān, and there, on the 11th Safar, he obtained an interview with Malik Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, on the bank of the Biah, and then he proceeded towards Multān, which he reached on the 6th Rabi'ul-awwal. There he had an interview with Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban-i-Kashlu Khān. Then the author started for Dehli and Malik 'Izzuddīn returned to Uchch. The peregrinations of Maulānā Minhājuddīn have thus been converted into the expeditions of the Sultān.

In the year 649 A.H. Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban, the feudatory of of Nagore, swerved from the path of allegiance and acted in a refractory manner. Sultān Nāsīruddīn set out towards Nagore, in order to quell the insurrection. Malik 'Izzuddīn being unable to withstand (him), begged for protection, and joined the imperial court. Sultān Nāsīruddīn then came to Dehli accompanied by triumph and victory. The same year he again set out with a large army, on the 5th Sha'bān,<sup>1</sup> towards Gwāliar, Chanderi and Mālwhā; and Jāhar Deo,<sup>2</sup> who was the Raja of that territory, advanced to meet him, with five thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand infantry; but after a great battle, he was defeated; and the fort of Nirwar was taken by assault; and the Sultan returned to his capital with victory and renown. In this war many acts of great intrepidity and bravery were performed by Ulugh Khān Balban. After this, Sher Khān started from Multān, with the intention of taking Uchch, and Malik 'Izzuddīn Balban also went to Uchch from Nagore, and having surrendered the fort of Uchch to Sher Khān, went and joined the service of the Sultān; and the territory of Badāūn was assigned to him as his Jāgīr.<sup>3</sup>

Then, on the 22nd Shawwāl in the year 650 A.H., the Sultān set out for Uchch and Multān, by way of Lahore.<sup>4</sup> In the course of this expedition, Kutlugh Khān came to the Sultān, from the territory

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsīrī* (trans., p. 690) this expedition set out on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'bān.

<sup>2</sup> There is a long note about this Raja's name (note 1, p. 690) in the translation of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsīrī*. The name is given by different authors as Chāhar or Jāhar, Achar or Deo. Major Raverty says, that the name is given as Achar Deo in the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī*, but it is given as Jāhar Deo in the lith. ed. as well as in the three MSS. I have collated. Nirwar or Nurwar is situated about 40 miles to the west of Bhupāl. According to Tod it was founded by the Kachwāhī Rajputs, and was the abode of Rājā Nala, whose descendants continued to hold it, through all the vicissitudes of Tatar and Mughal dominion, till it was taken by the Mahrattas.

<sup>3</sup> These events happened, according to the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsīrī*, before the expedition to Gwāliar, Chanderi and Mālwhā and not after, see *Ṭab-i-Nāsīrī* trans. p. 689.

<sup>4</sup> Major Raverty surmises that the object of marching to Uchch and Multān by way of Lahore was to deprive Sher Khān, the kinsman of Ulugh Khān, of these places and that this was the first move of the Raihānī plot against Ulugh Khān.

of *Sansawān*,<sup>1</sup> and *Kāshlu Khān* 'Izzuddīn from *Baḡdād* with their troops, and accompanied him to the bank of the *Biah*. In the year 651 A.H.<sup>2</sup> *Ulugh Khān* received permission to go towards *Sewālik* and *Hānsi* which formed his fief. The post of *Vazīr* was entrusted to the 'Ain-ul-mulk *Muhammad Junaidi*; *Malik 'Izzuddīn Kāshlu Khān*<sup>3</sup> became the Lord Chamberlain, and the fief of *Karah* was conferred on *Aibak*, who was the brother of the *Khān-i-A'zam*. 'Imāduddīn *Raiḥān* became the *Vakil-i-Darbār*; and the Sultān came back to *Dehli*. Again, in the early part of *Shawwāl*, of the same year, he set out from *Dehli*, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Biah*. Thence he sent forward his troops, and conquered *Tabarhindah*, *Uchch* and *Multān*, which had been in the possession of *Sher Khān* (but had been wrested from him) when he was defeated by the people of *Sind*; and went away to *Turkiastān*. He placed them in charge of *Arslān Khān*<sup>4</sup> and then returned (to *Dehli*).

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake for *Bhiānah* or *Biānah*. *Feriahtah* has, of course, copied the mistake.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the *Tab-i-Nās*, trans., p. 693, that towards the end of 650, 'Imāduddīn *Raiḥān* secretly subverted the mind of the Sultān and the *Malika* towards (against ?) *Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam*; and accordingly, at the beginning of the next year *Ulugh Khān* was sent away to his fief, and men belonging to the party opposed to him, received the high appointments at the capital.

<sup>3</sup> There is some confusion here. According the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, see trans., p. 694, it was *Ṣaifuddīn Aibak i-Kāshli Khān*, who was the brother of *Khān-i-A'zam*, and had been the Lord Chamberlain, as well as the chief master of the ceremonies, that was given the fief of *Karah* and was sent there. Apparently he has been divided into two: one part of him named 'Izzuddīn *Kāshlu Khān* has been made Lord Chamberlain; and the other half sent to *Karah*. Major Raverty says that the same mistake has been committed in *Elliot*.

<sup>4</sup> It would appear that *Tabarhindah*, *Uchch* and *Multān* were in the possession of *Malik Sher Khān*'s adherents; and the Sultān took them from those people, and made them over to *Malik Tajuddīn Arslān Khān-i-Sanjar*, which are the full name and title of the person, who is called *Arslān Khān* in the text. Under those circumstances Raverty thought that *conquering* or *subduing* would be rather too strong to express the meaning, though the expression used in both the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri* and the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbari* is *فَتْح*. It is not quite clear by whom *Malik Sher Khān* was defeated. In some copies of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri* he is said to have been defeated on the bank (کنار) of the *Sind*. In other copies instead of کنار we have کُتِل, and the meaning is he

In the year 652 A.H., (the Sultān) marched with his troops into the regions of the foot hills of Bijnor<sup>1</sup> and obtained much booty. He then crossed the Ganges at Mianpur, and marched along the skirts of the mountains as far as the river Rahab. And at Baklabmāni, on Sunday, the 15th of the month of Safar in 652 A.H., Malik 'Izzuddīn Razi-ul-mulk, while in a state of intoxication,<sup>2</sup> was martyred by the Zamindars of those parts. The Sultān in order to avenge his murder, marched towards Kaithal and Kuhrām, and after punishing the turbulent people of the neighbourhood, went in the direction of Badāūn. He remained there for a few days, and then came to Dehli. He remained there for five months in pleasure and enjoyment. Intelligence was then received that some Amīrs, such as Aralān Khān, and But Khān Aibak Khitāi, and Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam, had, in concert with Malik Jalāluddīn, commenced hostilities.

The Sultān set out from Dehli in the direction of Tabarhindah. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Hānsi, the Amīrs who have been mentioned also moved towards Kuhrām and Kaithal.<sup>3</sup> Here some people acted as intermediaries, and peace was established ;

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was defeated by the infidels of Sind. Nizāruddīn Ahmad has changed کفر سند مندان and he has as usual been followed by Ferishta, who in his turn has been followed by most later historians.

<sup>1</sup> Major Raverty says, that in the account of this expedition, the author of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* has shown great ignorance of geography, and has made a precious hash of two expeditions and made them into one. I do not think, however, that there were two expeditions. The author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāiri* certainly used the word expedition in the plural, but as the Sultān left Dehli in the beginning of the year, and reached Badāūn on the 19th Safar, there could not have been two expeditions, in the time, which barely exceeded six weeks. Nizāruddīn Ahmad, however, was in error in writing Kaithal for Kathiher, and also in inserting the name of Kuhrām.

<sup>2</sup> This is an absurd mistake. Malik 'Izzuddīn Razi-ul-mulk was a native of درمش, or his family came from that place. The word *Durmashī*, however, was read by the author of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, as درمستی "in a state of intoxication," and Ferishta of course followed him.

<sup>3</sup> What actually happened is not quite clear ; but it appears that there was a slight skirmish, and the greatest confusion arose in the Sultan's camp. After that the Sultan made a retrograde movement towards Hānsi, and Malik Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd Shah his brother, and Ulugh Khān-i-Ā'zam, and other Maliks marched towards Kaithal. Then the negotiation commenced and a peace was patched up. See *Tab-i-Nāq.* trans., p. 697, and also p. 831.

and they (the refractory Amīrs) entered into engagements and took oath, and did service to the Sultān. The Sultān made over the rule of the territory of Lahore to Malik Jalāluddīn, and returned to Dehli.

In the year 653 A.H., the Sultān became annoyed with his mother, Malkah-i-Jahān, who had married<sup>1</sup> (after the death of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamsh) Kutlugh Khān, and the province of Audh being assigned to the latter, as his fief, he was permitted, to start in that direction; in a short time, however, he was moved from there and sent to Bahraich. He fled from there and went to Santur.<sup>2</sup> Malik Izzuddīn Kashlu Khan and certain other Amīrs combined with him and laid the foundations of an insurrection. The Sultan sent Ulugh Khān-i-Balban with a large army against them.<sup>3</sup> When the two armies approached each other, a number of people in Dehli, such as the Sheikh-ul-Islam, Sayyad Kutbuddīn and Kāzī Shamsuddīn Bahraichi, invited Kutlugh Khān and Kashlu

<sup>1</sup> There was probably some secrecy about this marriage: see note 9, p. 701 of the *Tab-i-Nāq.* trans.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from the *Tab-i-Nāq.* trans., p. 703, that Kutlugh Khān refused to leave the province of Audh: and Malik Bak Tamur was sent with a force to expel him. The two forces met in the neighbourhood of Badāin, and Malik Bak Tamur was killed. Then the Sultan set out with his forces towards Audh. Kutlugh Khān retired before him. Then the Sultān moved towards some place called Kālair, and sent Ulugh Khān in pursuit of Kutlugh Khān. After a while Ulugh Khān returned with great booty, and the Sultan and he went back to Dehli. Kutlugh Khān then moved towards Karah and Mānikpur, but was defeated by the feudatory of that territory. Then he went in the direction of Santur. *Tab-i-Nāq.* trans., p. 703 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Kutlugh Khān appears to have gone to Santur, en route to the Bīān and Lahore. Here he was aided by the Hindu chieftains, but Ulugh Khān was sent there with an army. After some fighting, however, he returned to Dehli; and then Kutlugh Khān was joined by 'Izzuddīn Kashlu Khān and others; after which Ulugh Khān was again sent with an army against them. The rebel Amīrs then entered into correspondence with the disaffected nobles in the city, and attempted to surprise it by making a forced march. Ulugh Khān, however, sent news of all this to the Sultān. The latter then ordered the disaffected nobles to leave the capital, and to go away to their fiefs, and arrangements were made to defend the capital, by appointing Amīrs, heads of families, and respectable persons to the ramparts. Malik Badruddīn Sunkar Rumi, the feudatory of Bīānah, also came to the capital with a body of his troops, and helped to defend it.

Khān to come to the capital, and to seize it; and they also secretly invited the citizens to submit to them. Ulugh Khān-i-Balban became aware of this, represented the true state of things to the Sultān, and suggested that he should disperse the persons concerned. The Sultān issued the necessary orders; and the Amirs belonging to the hostile party had to go away to their fiefs. When Qutlugh Khān and Malik Kashlu Khān came to Dehli from Sāmānah, having traversed a hundred *karoḥ* in two days, they did not find their partisans there. They also then dispersed. Ulugh Khān-i-Balban arrived immediately behind them, in the service of the Sultān.

At the end of this year the Mughal armies arrived in the neighbourhood of Uchch and Multān; and the Sultān marched to repel them, but they retired without fighting and the Sultān also returned.<sup>1</sup> He then sent Malik Jalāluddīn Jāni,<sup>2</sup> on whom he conferred a robe of honour, towards Lakhnauti. In the year 657 A.H., two elephants and gems and much valuable cloth arrived from Lakhnauti. Malik 'Izzuddin Kashlu Khān, who has been previously mentioned, died in the month of Rajab that same year.

They say that Sultān Nasiruddin wrote every year two copies of the Kurān,<sup>3</sup> and spent the money for which he sold them on his own food. Once, it so happened, that a copy of the Kurān, which had been written by the Sultān, was bought by one of the Amirs for a price higher (than what it was really worth). When the Sultān came to know of this, he was displeased, and ordered that thenceforward the Kurāns written by him should be sold secretly at the usual price. It has also been narrated, that the Sultan had no attendant or maidservant except his wife, and the latter used to cook his food. One day she said to him, that her hands always ached on account of

<sup>1</sup> The Sultan's army did not march beyond sight of the capital. The Mughals ravaged the frontier districts, and then withdrew.

<sup>2</sup> He is called elsewhere Jalāluddīn Kulich Khān, son of Malik 'Alāuddīn Jāni. He was suspected of disaffection, but made his submission, and then the fief of Lakhnauti was conferred on him.

<sup>3</sup> Major Raverty disbelieves these anecdotes, and doubtless there is a great deal of exaggeration in them; but the Sultān certainly led a simple and homely life, and he also undoubtedly copied the Kurān. Ibn Batuta, on his visit to Dehli, saw a specimen of his calligraphy. Thomas says, that his excellence in penmanship, possibly, had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coins.

her having to cook the bread. It would be better if he would buy her a slave-girl, who would make the bread. The Sultān said in reply: that the royal treasury belonged to the servants of God (the people), and not to him, that he could buy a maid-servant for her with (the money in) it. If she would be patient, the great God would recompense her well for it in the life to come.

*Couplet.*

The world to the wakeful eye is a dream,  
The wise on dreams do not set their hearts.

In the year 663 A.H. the Sultan fell ill, and on the 11th Jāmā-di-ul-āwwal in the year 664 A.H., he left this world for the next. He left no offspring. His reign lasted for nineteen years and three months and a few days.

SULTĀN QHIĀSUDDĪN BALBAN

When Sultān Nāṣiruddīn died, all the Amīrs and Maliks placed Ulugh Khān-i-Balban, who was called Balban-i-Khurd, on the imperial throne, in the White Kasr (castle), in the year 664 A.H.; and the allegiance of the nobility and the common people was bound up to his throne. Sultān Qhiāsuddīn had been a slave of Sultān Shamsuddīn, of the body known as the forty slaves. Sultān Shamsuddīn had forty Turkish slaves, every one of whom attained to the rank of an Amīr, and the whole body of them was known as the Chehalgānī (the brotherhood or company of forty). Sultān Qhiāsuddīn was a king, wise, mature, of dignified mien, and possessed of great experience. He acted in all cases intelligently and wisely.

*Couplets.*

What valuable asset is a knowledge of the world;  
May the world be never lacking in it,  
That man doth raise his head in the world,  
Who in this world doth wisdom have.

He never entrusted the affairs of the empire except to the wise and the great, and never allowed base and low people to interfere in them. He never appointed any one to a post, or entrusted any one with any business, until the antecedents, integrity, goodness



and piety of the man were clearly established, and he took great pains in the verification of a man's family history; and made careful enquiries about it. If after he had appointed any one to a post, he had reason to suspect any defect in his personal character or qualifications, he at once removed him. To the end of the reign, which extended to twenty-two years, he never held any converse with low people; and never allowed jesters and buffoons to enter his court.

They say, that there was a notable man, of the name of Fakhr Āmānī, who had served the Sultān for a number of years. He went to one of the favourites of the Sultān, and begged him, and also offered to pay him a large sum of money, if he could induce the Sultān once to grant him an interview, in which he would make a large offering in cash and valuables. When this was represented to the Sultān, he said that the man was an Amīr of the bazar, and if he should hold any conversation with him, the awe in the heart of the common people for the Sultān would disappear; and there would be a diminution in his greatness and grandeur. All the attributes of the Sultān were praiseworthy; and in justice and righteousness, not one of the previous Sultāns could equal him. It is narrated that Malik Baḡbaḡ, the chief of the bodyguard, struck a farash (servant employed in spreading carpets and arranging furniture) in his employ some strokes with a stick, and the man died under the blows. The said Malik Baḡbaḡ was slain (by order of the Sultān), in retaliation for the offence, under the bastinado. Haibat Khān, the father of Malik Kīrān 'Alāī, who was a favoured slave of the Sultān, while in a state of intoxication, killed a man. The heirs of the murdered man came to the Sultān, and prayed for justice. The Sultān ordered that Haibat Khān should receive five hundred strokes of a stick; and should moreover be delivered over to the widow of the murdered man. People interceded with her; and settled that he should pay her fifty thousand tangāhs; and he was thus delivered from that woman. Haibat Khān never after this came out of his house, for shame, to the day of his death. In the same way, some of the other Amīrs suffered, according to the law of retaliation, for the unjust deaths they had caused. It did not make any difference to the Sultān that the murderer was an Amīr, or a Malik; and the murdered man belonged to the vulgar or baser classes. The Sultān used to attend the assemblies of pious men.

and to listen to sermons, and used to weep with the exuberance of his feelings. He faithfully attended to all the behests, and the prohibitions, of religion. The rules of empire and the laws of government, which had fallen into desuetude, and had become obsolete, in the days when the sons of Sultân Shamsuddīn ruled the country, received new confirmation, and fresh stability; and such was the terror and dread inspired by the Sultân, that no one had the hardihood to stray from the path of obedience. The Sultân also carried out the rules of righteousness and justice in such a way, that the entire population of the country submitted to his orders, and accepted his decrees, with perfect zeal. Most of the chieftains and nobles, who after the death of Sultân Shamsuddīn had, owing to the weakness of his sons, lifted up their heads with stiff-neckedness and obstinacy, became humble and submissive.

*Couplet.*

When justice lightens the candle of the world,  
It teaches wolves to behave like lambs.

He was very particular about the arrangements of dress, and the paraphernalia of regal grandeur, and splendour, at the time when he granted public or private audience. In sitting down and rising he behaved with such grandeur and hauteur, and sternness, that the livers of the spectators melted with fear at the sight. A trembling seized the hearts of the turbulent people, both near and remote, on account of the terror of his greatness. He said repeatedly, that he had heard from elders, who were men of great consideration in the court of Sultân Shamsuddīn, that a king who did not maintain the rules and observances of empire, in the arrangement of his court, and in the splendour of his processions, and whose behaviour and sayings did not reveal the grandeur befitting a king, dread and awe for him would not find a way into the hearts of the enemies of his rule, or of the people of his empire; and many dangers would find a way in the affairs of his government. He laid special stress in the arrangements of meetings, on beautiful carpets and utensils of gold and silver, and gold-embroidered curtains, and various delicious fruits and other articles of food and drink. On festival days, he sat in the assembly till the end of the day; and the presents of his Khāns and Amirs had ceased before

his eyes. As the offerings of each of the nobles was placed before him, the ushers of the meeting described the laudable attributes and the meritorious services of that particular noble.\* In his festal assemblages, songs were sung; and poets recited laudatory odes; and were rewarded with gifts and benefactions. They say that not one of his old servants, who had attended his private audiences, had ever seen him without his cap and socks and cloak. He never laughed aloud in his assemblies; and others also did not laugh there. He used to say that the dignity and the grandeur, in the demeanour of a king, inspired greater awe in the hearts of the people than the punishments inflicted by him; and the absence of a feeling of awe towards a king was the cause of insurrections and rebellion. If such a king occupies the throne, before long many dangers will occur and tumults and revolts will take place; the rules of justice will become abrogated, and the flood gates of tyranny and oppression opened wide. Sultân Ghīāsuddīn observed the golden mean on all occasions; and showed mercy, as well as wrath, at the right time for each. He said repeatedly, that a monarch who in his acts, and behaviour, adopts the practices of a tyrant, commits infidelity to God; and acts against the behests of the prophet (on whom be the blessing of God and peace!), and the punishment for such practices is nothing but suffering and ruin in the life to come. Such conduct can never be atoned for, by a king, except in four ways: (1) that he reserves his power and authority for the proper occasions, and keeps nothing before his eyes except the happiness of his people, and the fear of God: (2) that he does not allow cheating and other crime to be committed in his kingdom; and completely shuts the door on such practices; and always keeps the wicked and the reckless under the dread of his punishment: (3) that he entrusts all business and duties to wise, meritorious, honest and God-fearing persons and does not allow treacherous men to live in his dominions. as they produce confusion among the people: and (4) that in the administration of justice, he practises righteousness to such an extent, that all vestiges of tyranny and oppression may disappear from his kingdom.

*Couplet.*

From justice doth stability spring,  
The tyranny of kings is like a lamp in a draught,

Whenever Sultān Balban arrived at a Sarāi, or a bridge, or a muddy or marshy place, he waited there; and deputed nobles and great officers of State, who with sticks in their hands directed the arrangements; and first they made the sick, the infirm, the women and the children, and the weak and thin quadrupeds to cross over without any trouble. He used to employ his elephants, and other animals, in helping to take the people across. He waited for a few days, in such places, till all the people should have crossed over with ease.

Although in the days in which he held the rank of a Khān, Sultān Balban was addicted to drinking, and to the holding of convivial meetings, to which he invited Amirs and Maliks; and to gambings; giving away his winnings to the attendants; and there were always in his assemblies witty and eloquent courtiers, and sweet-voiced singers; still after he had become the *badshāh*, he never hankered after these things, and rooted out even the names of wine and wine-drinkers and all evil-doers throughout his kingdom. He practised the customary fasts, kept up at nights, attended regularly at the Friday prayers and those for the morning and the evening, and never neglected his ablutions. He never took his food except in the presence of learned and pious men; and, while eating, discussed questions connected with religion and law with them. He went to the houses of holy men; and after his devotions, went on pilgrimage to the tombs (of the saints). He attended the funerals of great men; and went and condoled with the mourners. He conferred robes of honour on the sons and relations of men who died; and continued the stipends of such men to their heirs. Although he had so much power and grandeur, if even at the time when he was riding out he heard that there was a devotional assemblage at any place, where a sermon would be delivered, he instantly dismounted and went and heard the discourse, and wept (with the exuberance of his feelings).

The splendour of Kai khwaro sprang from this;

That with justice and with learning he the earth adorned.

On days of devotion, he only a blanket wore.

With God he strove, with prayer and praise.

With his face on the ground, his heart like cauldron a-bell  
 His eloquent and his tongue so merrily.

Till you saw his heart, with the secret-seeing eye,  
You would not know all the heights and all the depths.

In spite of all these beneficent attributes of his, in the matter of insurgents and rebels, he acted with the greatest rigour and sternness; and did not deviate so much as a needle's point from the ways of a tyrant. For the rebellion of one man he would overthrow a whole army, or a city. He kept the peace of his empire before his eyes, above all things; and for this reason he made away with most of the Shamsi Maliks, who had been his companions, by various devices and pretexts. When his power and greatness were firmly established, some of the Shamsi Amirs represented to him, that as his power and grandeur had now become so great, it was right that he should lead his armies for the conquest of Gujrat, Malwah and other provinces of Hindustān. The Sultān said in reply, that in order to protect the country from the Mughals, who invaded it every year, he could not leave Dehli for the distant provinces; that a king should first of all make his own dominions perfectly secure; and then only try to conquer other countries; that it was one of the sayings of ancient monarchs, that it was better that one should secure and strengthen his own kingdom, than that he should stretch out his hand against those of others; and that a king who neglected even a single point, in ensuring the safety of his kingdom, became blameworthy before God.

In the year of the Sultān's accession, i.e. in A.H. 664, Tatār Khān, son of Arslān Khān,<sup>1</sup> sent sixty-three elephants from Lakh-

<sup>1</sup> Arslān Khān(i-Sanjar) invaded the territory of Lakhnauti, when he was the feudatory of Nāyah, in 667 A.H. The feudatory of Lakhnauti, Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Yūz Bakī, had then proceeded towards the country of Bang and had left Lakhnauti empty (of troops). The inhabitants took refuge within the walls, and defended themselves; but after three days the city was taken, and plunder and sack and rapine was kept up for three days. Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Yūz Bakī returned on hearing of this, and an engagement took place between him and Arslān Khān-i-Sanjar, and the latter gained the upper hand, and Malik 'Izzuddin Balban-i-Yūz Bakī became a captive; and it is stated that he was martyred. It would appear, that after this Arslān Khān became governor of Bengal, and he was succeeded by his son Tatār Khān, and the latter had been governor for some time when Balban ascended the throne. See Tab-i-Nāq. trans., p. 729 et seq. It was that Tatār Khān who sent the elephants.

nauti. (On account of this) the people erected domes in the city, and made rejoicings. Sultân Balban sat in public audience, on the Nâsirî Chabutara (platform) outside the Badâûn gate, and the Amîrs, Maliks, Judges and other great officers all presented themselves, and offered tributes, and were honoured with gifts and rewards. As Sultân Balban was very fond of hunting, he had passed an order that around the city for a distance of twenty *karohs*, game should be preserved. The *Mir shikars* (chief huntsmen) held a high rank in his service; and he had a large number of huntmen in his employ. In the winter he mounted his horse every morning, and rode as far as the town of Rewâri, and even beyond that, and hunted and returned to the city after nightfall, but he never passed the night outside the city. One thousand horsemen, every one of whom was known to the Sultân, and one thousand others of the class of Nayeks (sergeants) and archers, accompanied his stirrups by turn. All of these received their food from the Sultân's table. When Halâkû Khân at Baghdâd heard of the Sultân's habit of hunting, he said Balban was a sagacious king; outwardly he showed to the people that he went hunting, but really he took riding exercise; and gave his troops system and order; and always watched over his kingdom. When Sultân Balban heard this, he was pleased; and praised Halâkû's discernment; and said that those only knew how to govern kingdoms who had conquered and ruled them.

Owing to the negligence and the weakness of the children of Shamsuddin, manifest difficulties and dangers had found their way into all matters connected with the government of the realm; and the orders passed and rules framed by them were honoured more in the breach than in the observance. He destroyed with great vigour and sternness the bands of Mewatis who had settled round the city; and had, on account of the neighbourhood being much overgrown with jungle, laid the foundations of turbulence and disturbances; committed highway robberies; and at night entered the city and broke into the houses; and carried away much property. The roads from all directions were closed on account of these robberies; merchants could not come and go; and even the road towards Mecca (the west) had to be closed for fear of the robbers. The second prayers; so that no one could go on pilgrimages to the holy places after afternoon prayers. Repeatedly

the robbers came to the vicinity of the Sultān's reservoir; and gave trouble to the water-carriers, and the slave-girls, who came to draw water. That same year the Sultan, considering that the extirpation of these robbers should be taken in hand, before everything else, had the jungle cut down and rooted up; and made a number of the robbers food for the sword. He built a strong fort at Kawalkar (kilogari) and established thanas, at various places, in the neighbourhood of the city; and divided these jurisdictions among his troops; so that each one might watch over the area assigned to him. After this, the citizens had repose from the turbulence of the Mewātis. When the Sultān had finished cutting down the jungle, and extirpating the Mewātis, he made over the towns and villages in the Doāb to powerful Jagirdārs, who plundered and harried the turbulent men; and slew them; and made captives of their families and children; and in this way totally removed the troubles caused by them. After this, on two occasions, the Sultān went out of his capital, and led his troops towards Kaithal and Patiāli, and put the lawless and turbulent people of these districts to the sword. He opened the road to Hindustān, which according to the special meaning given to the name by the people of India signified Jaunpore and Behar and Bangālāh, which had become closed. From these plundering and ravaging excursions he brought much booty, in the shape of captives and cattle, to Delhi. He built strong forts, and lofty mosques at Kaithal, and Patiāli, and Bhojpur, which had become the residence and the head-quarters of highway robbers. He made over these forts to Afghāns and strengthened the towns by settling bands of Afghāns in them.

In these days he erected the Hisār-i-Jalāli, which had been the residence of highway robbers, and settled Musalmāns there. He had scarcely finished doing these things, when he heard of the disturbance and emute caused by the people of Katehār owing to the weakness of the feudatories of Badā-ūn and Amroha. The Sultān returned to the capital from Kaithal and Patiāli; and ordered that the army should be ready; and he made it appear to the people that he would march towards the skirts of the hills. Then the royal pavilion could be brought out, and he led out ten thousand brave horsemen and made forced marches. In the course of two nights he crossed the Ganges, and entered Katehār.

and entered the Kateher territory. He then gave orders for plundering and slaying. None except women and children was left alive; and whoever, of the male sex, had reached the age of eight years, was made food for the sword. They made hillocks of the slain. From that time, to the time of Jalāluddīn, no lawless man could raise his head there; and the fiefs of Badā-ūn and Amroha had immunity from the wickedness of the Kateher people. After that Sultān Balban returned to the capital in victory and triumph. After a time, he again led his forces towards the skirts of the hills; and plundered those places. The troops got hold of a large number of horses in this expedition, so that the price of a horse was reduced to thirty or forty tangahs. Sultān Balban again returned to the capital in triumph and victory; and every time that he returned from camp, the Judges and other great officers went out two or three stages to receive him; and in the city people erected domes, and had rejoicings. Whatever was given as a thankoffering was sent to the different parts of the realm, and distributed to deserving persons.

After a time he marched towards Lahore, and rebuilt the fort which the Mughals had pulled down; and he made the country round about Lahore, which had been desolated by these ravages, flourish and thrive again. He then returned to Dehli. At this time some people who were conversant with economical questions, said to Sultān Balban that a large body of troops, who had received *jāgirs* in the time of Sultān Shamsuddīn, were still holding them. There were many irregularities in these *jāgirs*. The Sultān ordered that those who were aged, and unable to exert themselves, should be exempted from service in the army, and stipends should be conferred on them, so that they might have enough to live upon; and the remainder (of the jagirs) should be resumed. Owing to this, vexation and grief fell upon the people. A number of people carried presents to the Amīr-ul-umra Fakhruddīn Kotwāl; and represented the matter to him. The Malik-ul-umra did not accept their presents, and said, if he took a bribe from them, his words would have little effect. He immediately went to the Sultān, and stood at his place with a sad and sorrowful attitude. The Sultān saw his grief and asked him the cause. He said that he had heard that the Sultān had resumed (the names of) the aged and had taken away their means of living; and that he was sad, as he did not know



what his fate would be, if they would treat old men in the same way on the day of resurrection. The Sultân knew what he was referring to; the Malik-ul-umra's words affected him, and made him weep. He ordered that the stipends of the old men should be continued, and in nowise resumed.

*Couplet.*

The Sultân's favour is auspicious to those  
Who help the cause of those who are in need.

After a while Sher Khân, the cousin of Sultân Balban, died: they say that the Sultân ordered that poison should be given to him in his drink.<sup>1</sup> Sher Khân was a slave of Altamsh, one of the brotherhood of forty slaves, who had attained to the rank of an Amīr. He had erected the forts of Tabarhindah and Bhatnir, and at the latter place he had also erected a lofty cupola.<sup>2</sup> He had held the fiefs of Sunām, Lahore, Debalpur and all the fiefs which were situated on the way of the invasion of the Mughals, from the reign of Nāṣiruddīn to that of Sultân Balban.<sup>3</sup> He attacked the Mughals several times, and after defeating them had read the Khutbah, in the name of Sultân Nāṣiruddīn, in Ghaznīn, and owing to his bravery and intrepidity, and the number of his troops, the Mughals found it impossible to come into Hindustān. As he knew that Sultân Balban was endeavouring to compass the death of the Shamsi slaves, he never came to Dehli. After his death, Sultân Balban conferred the fiefs of Sunām and Sāmānah on Tamiur Khān, who was also one of the

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *qūt*, which is said to be a liquor made from barley and other things, a sort of beer.

<sup>2</sup> According to Zia Barni, Sher Khān built a lofty cupola at Bhatnir and founded the fortresses of Bhatindah and Bhatnir. In the lith. ed. Tarḥīḥ dah and in the SS. Tabarhindah is given instead of Bhatindah.

<sup>3</sup> This statement is founded on Zia Barni's statement. According to the Tab-i-Nāṣ., however, written by a contemporary, he was not in undisputed possession at any time, and some years before the death of Shamsuddīn, Tabarhindah was entrusted to the charge of Malik Naṣrat Khān Sunāmī, Suī, and the fiefs of Kol, Bīkrah, Balākrīn, Jalāsar, Balākrāh, Mihir and Mahāwan and the fortress of Gwalior were placed in Sher Khān's charge, and he was there when the pages of the Tabakat-i-Nāṣiri, containing his history, was written, in Rajab 658 A.H. (see pages 792 etc. *trans.*).

company of forty slaves; and made over the other fiefs (which had been held by Sher Khān) to other Amīrs. The Mughals, who in the days of Sher Khān could not come near Hindustān, again began to give trouble on the outskirts of the country. In order to remedy this, Sultan Balban sent his eldest son, Muhammad Sultān, who has become celebrated as the martyred Khān, and who bore the title of K̄'asān Khān, and was adorned with bodily and mental accomplishments, to Multan.

Before doing so, he conferred on him a canopy of State and a *darbāsh*, and nominated him as his successor. Sind with its dependencies, and appanages, were made over to him. A number of Amīrs and wise men, and a large retinue, were sent to Multān with him. Muhammad Sultān was dearer to the Sultān than his brothers. He always sat or associated with learned and accomplished men. Amīr Khusrō and Amīr Hasan were in his service, in Multān, for five years; and like his other courtiers received stipends and rewards. He held them in greater esteem than any of his other courtiers; and took great delight in their poetical and prose compositions. He was so well-behaved and polite, that even if he sat for a whole day and night, in the seat of authority, he never once raised his knees. He never took any oath except that of Haḡḡa (Ah! God); and even in moments of negligence and intoxication, no harsh word was ever on his tongue.

*Couplet.*

Politeness doth lend greatness to a man. Do thou  
Thy nature with it grace, and great wilt thou then be.

He had great respect for Shaikhs and learned men. They say that Shaikh Usmān Sarmadi,<sup>1</sup> who was one of the saintly men of the time, came to Multan. The prince did him honour, presented him with valuable gifts, and prayed that he should take up his residence in Multān, and offered to erect a Khānḡāh for him; and to endow some villages for his maintenance. The Shaikh did not agree and preferred a wandering life. One day this Shaikh and Shaikh Sadr-

<sup>1</sup> This word is given as مرندی مرمدی مرمدی in the lith. ed. and in the MSS.

uddin, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariā, were present in one of the prince's assemblies. The other darwishes who were present were in ecstasies when they heard their Arabic verses, and they all began to dance. He (the prince) was standing in front of them, with his hands on his chest, and wept continuously with the exuberance of his feelings. Arabic poems, of a didactic character, were frequently recited in his assemblies. On such occasions, he would give up other occupations, and listen to them, and show his anguish and shed tears.

They say that one of the daughters of Sultān Shamsuddīn was married to him. Accidentally, in a state of intoxication, he divorced her by uttering the word 'talāq' thrice. As there was no remedy, except the ceremony of legalizing it again, the lady was married to Shaikh Sadruddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariā. After consummation of the marriage, when the Shaikh was asked to divorce the lady again, she said (to him) that she had sought shelter in his house from that perfidious man; and God would not allow that she should again be made over to his tender mercies. The Shaikh then said that he could not be less than a woman; and did not divorce her. Muḥammad Sultān being unable to bear separation from her, was about to take his revenge. But it so happened, that at that very time the Mughals came; and he necessarily considered that it was his first duty to lead his troops against them. He did so, and became a martyr. On two occasions he sent messengers from Multān to Shīrāz, to summon Shaikh Sa'dī (on whom be the mercy of God!), and sent him sums of money. He offered to erect a Khānqāh for him in Multān and to endow a number of villages for his benefit. The Shaikh could not come, on account of his old age and infirmity; and on each of the two occasions he sent a volume, containing his verses, written with his own hand; and he sent apologies for not being able to come, and recommendations in favour of Amīr Khwāro.

Muḥammad Sultān came every year from Multān to Dehli to render homage to his father; and presented valuable and elegant things, and received kind treatment from his father and then returned. That year, after which he did not again return, Sultān Balbān, at the time of bidding him farewell, sent for him to his private chamber, and said, "I have passed all my life as a *Mulūk*

and a *Bādehāh*, and I have gained various experiences. I wish to give you a few precepts about the duties of sovereignty, that they may be of use to you after my death. The first precept is this: that when you sit on the throne of royalty, you do not consider the duties of governing a kingdom, which constitute really a vicegerency of the Great and Almighty God, as something simple and easy; and do not besmirch and debase the glory of the position, which is one of such grandeur, by doing evil deeds and displaying low qualities; and do not make base and wicked men your partners in this great work.

*Couplet.*

Do not allow the low and the base to come to thee.  
The malignant thou canst not make the beneficent.

Another precept is this: that you reserve the sternness and terror of your rank for their right place; and abstain from gratifying the lust of your desires; that you never act except in the way of God; and that you never use your treasures, which are great Divine gifts, except for the glorification of God, and the benefit of your people. Another is: that you always keep the enemies of the true faith, the wicked and the tyrannical, crushed down, under your heel. Another is: that you always keep yourself thoroughly acquainted with the condition and the acts of your deputies and officers, and invite them to perform good deeds and to cultivate praiseworthy qualities. Another is: that you appoint just and pure-minded judges, and rulers, over your people; so that the religion of God may gain further currency and the glory of justice may be better revealed among men. Another is: that both publicly and privately, you always preserve the dignity and grandeur of royalty, and never indulge in any forbidden or unlawful practices.

*Couplet.*

Oh guard, as thou best canst, thy dignity and awe!  
For trifling with the low, thy grandeur doth impair.

Another is: that you confer benefits and honours on energetic, pious, and grateful men; and neglect not to improve their position; and show kindness to skilful and intelligent men, who confer

honour and distinction on a kingdom; and never expect loyalty from wicked men, and those who have not the fear of God in their hearts; and know that the well-being of your kingdom, and of religion, lies in your banishing such persons from your neighbourhood.

*Couplet.*

Cast not from thee one who is of nature pure;  
And from one of nature vile, refrain;  
The evil-natured keepeth faith with none;  
One from evil sprung doth e'er to evil cling.

Another precept is this: that magnanimity and kinghood are correlatives of each other, and wise men and philosophers have compared them to twins; and have said that it is right that the spirit of a king should be the king of the spirits [of other men]; that if the spirit of a king were like the spirits of other men, there would be no distinction between a king and common people; and that kinghood can not be united to a mean spirit. Another is this: that when you raise one to a high position, do not again cast him down for some small fault that he may commit, and do not afflict one who sincerely wishes you well, except for some reason of state, and do not convert your friends into your enemies.

*Couplet.*

Every chief that thou thyself hast raised,  
Cast him not down again so long as thou canst.

If owing to some reason connected with religion or the state you punish any one, still leave room for peace [with him]; and be not overquick in causing pain to those of noble family; for any wound caused to their honour is not quickly or easily healed. Another is this: do not listen to the words of a captious man; and do not allow such men to come near you; as this will create a fear in the minds of the adherents of your court, and of the well-wishers of your greatness; and will give rise to great dangers in the affairs of your kingdom. Another is: do not embark in an undertaking until you know what its issue will be; for to leave any transaction unfinished does not consort with the dignity of a king.

*Couplet.*

Until you make your footing firm,  
Do not in an enterprise embark.

Another precept is this: do not attempt any thing without consulting wise men; and refrain always from doing a thing which can be done equally well by one of your subordinates. The power of discriminating good men from bad is the real test of government; and in all matters the golden mean should be followed: for sternness and ferocity produce universal hatred; while sloth and slackness bring thoughts of violence and revolt into the heads of the turbulent. Finally, always take the greatest care in your own safety, for therein lies the safety of your people; and keep your court well guarded by faithful and honest watchmen and serjeants. Always be kind to your brother, and never listen to any one's words in respect of him; and consider him to be your arm, and support; and confirm his fiefs to him." After giving him these precepts, and conferring the insignia of royalty on him, the Sultān sent his son towards Multān.

The same year the Sultān sent his younger son Bughrā Khān, who bore the title of Nāsiruddīn, to Sāmānah, and conferred the fief of that name, and that of Sunām, on him. When bidding him farewell, he gave him some advice and said, "On arrival there you should raise the pay of your old soldiers, and engage as many new troops as may be necessary; and you should be very vigilant about the invasions of the Mughals; and in all affairs of State you should consult with wise men, who should be in your confidence. You should also represent to me the truth about any matters in respect of which you may have any doubts or perplexity, so that you may do as I may direct." He then forbade his drinking wine, and said, "If after this you drink spirituous liquors I shall deprive you of these fiefs and give you others instead; but you will always be degraded and despicable in my eyes." Bughra Khān gave place to his father's precepts, in the ear of intelligence; made righteousness his habit; gave up all evil practices; and became such that if the Mughals invaded Hindustan, Muhammad Sultan from Multān, Bughra Khān from Sāmānah, and Malik Bārbak Beg Tars from Dehli could be at once deputed to repel them; and by the time they reached

the river Biah, which was near the town of Sultanpur, these would completely check the disturbance created by them.

After the government of Sultân Balban had acquired stability, and the rivals of his power had been discomfited, and had disappeared, Tughral who was a Turk slave and possessed the qualities of briskness, activity, liberality and bravery, and was the ruler of the Lakhnauti territory, seeing that the Sultân had become old, and had sent both his sons against the Mughals, and was busily occupied with repelling their incursions; and also thinking that he had acquired the necessary forces and equipment, in a headstrong way laid the foundation of revolt, and appropriated to himself the whole of the treasures and the elephants which he had brought from Jājnagar, and did not send any portion of them to the Sultân. He then assumed the royal canopy, gave himself the title of Sultân Maghīsuddīn, and raised the standard of hostility. As he was liberal, nay lavish in his gifts, the inhabitants of the country submitted to him, and accepted his rule; and his affairs became prosperous.

*Couplet.*

A generous king adherents never lacks,  
No one to him doth worthless ever become.

When the news of Tughral's rebellion reached Dehli, the Sultân ordered a force to be mustered; and made Malik Aitakīn Mue-daraz, who bore the title of Amin Khān, and was the feudatory of Audh, the Commander-in-Chief; and he despatched other nobles, such as Tamar Khān Shamsī, and Malik Tajuddīn, son of 'Alī Khān Shamsī, for the punishment of Tughral. When Malik Aitakīn crossed the Saryu with his army, and set out towards Lakhnauti, Tughral came and met him; and in the battle which ensued, vanquished him. From this action Tughral acquired great power and grandeur. The Sultân, on hearing this melancholy news, was vexed and grieved, and punished Malik Aitakīn by hanging him at the gate of Audh. He then mustered another army for carrying on the war with Tughral, but the latter defeated it also. The Sultân became still more angry and furious on hearing this; and his lofty spirit and kingly determination resolved to lead the army himself. He gave orders that a large flotilla of boats should

ready and collected in the Jumna and the Ganges, and himself started on a hunting expedition in the direction of Sāmānah and Sunam; and making Malik Saunj, the commandant of the imperial guard, the deputy governor of Sāmānah, took Bughrā Khān with him, with his personal troops, and returning from Sāmānah into the Doab, crossed the Ganges; and took the route to Lakhnauti. He left the Malik-ul-Umra as the regent at Dehli; and owing to his great eagerness, and the high state of preparation (of his army), he did not take heed of the rains, but marched without interruption towards Lakhnauti.

In every thing in the way of house-hold affairs

Repose is better. But in matters of war

The world belongs to him who is quick.

In the matter of conquest, delay is fatal.

As owing to the heavy rains, and the difficulties of the road, the Sultān was delayed, Tughral took advantage of it, and putting his army in a state of readiness, started in the direction of Jājnagar; intending to conquer that territory, and to remain there for some time; and to return to Lakhnauti, when the Sultān should have returned towards Dehli. The inhabitants (of the province), fearful of Sultān Balban's wrath, and avaricious of his wealth, submitted to him, whether willingly or otherwise. When the Sultān reached Lakhnauti, he halted there for some days; and having re-equipped his army, started towards Jājnagar in pursuit of Tughral. He entrusted the superintendence of the affairs at Lakhnauti to the Sipah-sālār Ḥisāmuddīn and the Vakil-dar, Malik Bārbak. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sonargaon, Bhojrāi, who was the governor of the place, came to his presence and enlisted himself among his adherents. He promised, that if Tughral should attempt to escape by the sea, he would prevent him. The Sultān then set out, with the greatest promptitude, for Jājnagar. After he marched some stages, all news of Tughral disappeared; and he could give any clue as to his whereabouts. [The Sultān] then named Malik Bārbak Beg Tars to take seven thousand picked men with him; and to march ten or twelve kurohs in advance (of the main army). Although scouts went in advance and made enquiries about Tughral, they did not see any signs or traces of him;



till one day, when a detachment of the advanced guard, consisting of Malik Tīrandāz,<sup>1</sup> the feudatory of Kol, and his brother, Malik Muḩuddar, and another man who had<sup>2</sup> become known as Tughral Kush, with thirty or forty horsemen went in advance as scouts. Suddenly, they came upon a few of Tughral's soldiers, and found out from them that it was less than half a kuroh between the place where they were and Tughral's camp; and the latter was making a halt that day, and he would reach Jājnagar the next day. When the mounted scouts got on the top of the embankment, they saw Tughral's pavilion standing before them, and his soldiers taking their rest, in a complete state of negligence. They drew their swords, and sprang upon Tughral's pavilion. The latter, panic struck, fled by the bathroom, and mounting a saddle-less horse, jumped into some water which was near his camp. His troops also dispersed with the fear and alarm, which overcame them; and fled in all directions. Malik Mukaddar and Tughral Kush pursued Tughral, and came up to him on the bank of the water. Tughral Kush shot him with an arrow in the side; and he fell off from his horse. Malik Mukaddar dismounted; and cutting off his head, threw his body into the water. He concealed the head under the skirt of his robe; and occupied himself with washing his face and hands. At the same moment Malik Bārbak, who was the commander of the advanced guard, came up and sent Tughral's head with a letter announcing the victory to the Sultān. The next day Malik Bārbak presented himself before the Sultān with the plunder and the captives taken from Tughral's army, and explained how the victory had been achieved. The Sultān was displeased, on account of the carelessness which had been shown by Malik Bārbak; but he ultimately rewarded him, and he bestowed favours and gifts on Malik Tīrandāz, and all the Turks. He also gave equal rewards to Mukaddar and Tughral Kush. Then he returned to Lakhnauti, and punished the relatives and friends of Tughral; and ordered them to be hanged in the market-place of Lakhnauti, so much so, that he even pun-

<sup>1</sup> His name is given as Malik Tīrandāz or Malik Sharābdār in different places in the lith. ed. and the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> The original has been correctly translated in the text; but the meaning apparently is that he became known as Tughral-kush or "the Slayer of Tughral," after he had helped to slay the latter.

a Kalandar, who had been held in honour by him; and the other Kalandars his friends. He also passed orders that other soldiers of Tughral should be punished in Dehli. After this he left Bughrā Khān in Lakhnauti; after conferring on him the royal canopy, and durbash, and the other insignia of royalty; and then raised his standards for his return to Dehli.

At the time of his departure, he gave some advice to his dear son. The first precept was this: That it was not right (for the ruler of Lakhnauti) to fall out with, and revolt against, the King of Dehli, whether they were relations or strangers; and if the latter invaded Lakhnauti, the ruler of that province should turn away from him, and go to distant parts. Then when the King of Dehli returned to his capital, he might return to Lakhnauti and go on with his government. The second precept was this: That in levying revenue from his subjects (a King) should follow the golden mean. He should not take so little that they would become refractory and turbulent; nor so much that they would be reduced to helplessness and poverty. He should also pay such stipends to his soldiers, that they might live in comfort from year's end to year's end, and not suffer from penury and privation. Another precept was this: That in affairs of State, he should not undertake anything without the advice of wise men, who should at the same time be his sincere well-wishers.

*Couplet.*

Wisdom is better than a hundred swords,  
The King's crown is better than a hundred diadems,  
With policy can the back of an army be broken,  
With a sword can only one to ten be slain.

In the passing of decrees, a king should abstain from the lusts of the flesh; and should not act contrary to what is just, for the sake of his own interest. Another precept was this: That (a king) should not be negligent in making enquiries about the condition of his subjects, which is one of his principal duties; and should encourage them; and should not go into any matter connected with them. He should not employ any one, who should induce or incite him to do so, as an enemy, and should not listen to his words. Another precept was

this: That a king should certainly place himself under the protection of one who should have turned his back on the world; and should have placed his dependence on God.

*Couplet.*

For protection betake thyself to the darwesh's skirts !  
'Tis stronger than a hundred of Alexander's walls.

The Sultân should not have anything to do with one in whose heart even an atom of the love of the world should be found, and should not place any reliance on his words or deeds.

After making his son's ears heavy with the pearls of his advice, he bade him farewell; and turned his face towards Dehli.

The Shaikhs, and the learned and the pious men of every city and town, at which he arrived, welcomed and congratulated him, and offered gifts and presents, and were honoured with robes and rewards. In the large cities, the citizens erected triumphal domes, and made rejoicings. When he passed Badaūn, and crossed the Ganges, the Sayyads and Kâzis and all the notable men of Dehli welcomed him, and congratulated him in due form; and were honoured with the royal favour. When he reached Dehli, he gave alms; and made devout offerings; and made all deserving people happy. He also went to the houses of learned men, and darweshes, and gave them alms corresponding to their merits, and released prisoners who were in durance on account of debts; and also remitted the arrears of the rayyats, which appeared in the revenue registers. The Malik-ul-Umra, who had been the regent in his absence, was highly honoured with various favours on account of this; and he had displayed in the management of the affairs of State.

The Sultân then ordered that gibbets should be erected in the market-place of Dehli, and the prisoners from the army of whom he had gone from Dehli to Lakhnauti, and had joined him, should be hanged on them. The citizens were in great sorrow and as most of the prisoners were their relations and connections, they went about weeping and lamenting. The Kâzi of the city, who was one of the holy men of the age, went to the Sultân, and with piteous words, softened his heart. After that he interceded on behalf of the offenders; and the Sultân accepted his intercession, and drew the pen of forgiveness over their offences.

After this, Muhammad Sultân, the eldest son of the Sultân, came from Multân to see him; and offered elegant presents, and fitting tribute. The Sultân was delighted at his coming; showed him many loving attentions; and then bade him farewell. At this time Tamar with a vast army arrived between Lahore and Dibalpur and a sanguinary conflict ensued; and Muhammad Sultân and some of his amirs attained martyrdom. In the battle Mir Khuru was taken prisoner, but was released. Khwaja Hasan wrote the following elegy and sent it to Dehli:—"The tyrannical sky, although for a while it makes a bond of agreement and gives a promise of sincerity (soon) turns; and inconstant destiny, although for a time it shows itself to be agreeable and gives promise of faith (soon) changes. The treacherous-eyed sky, the pupil of whose generosity is filled with meanness, although, at first like a drunkard, without any reason for liberality, it gives away a thing, yet at the end, although a sense of shame would forbid it, takes it back. The well-known custom of the world is this, as experience and hearsay, what we see, and what we hear, equally teach, that whenever anyone shines like the moon, it (the world) wants to blacken his face of perfect beauty, with the stain of loss; and whenever any one rises above our heads like a cloud, it (the world) scatters his gem (greatness) in little particles on all sides of the horizon. In this parterre of perplexity, and in this garden of regrets, no flower has ever bloomed without a thorn, and no heart has escaped the thorn of anguish. Ah! how many young plants are there, which from the effects of the autumn of calamity show a pale and withered face instead of a fresh beauty; and how many flowers lie trampled in the dust (blown down) by the rough blast of time."

*Couplet.*

See! how hath autumn shown its power in my garden fair!  
What havoc hath it done to the youthful cypress there!

One of the examples of such vicissitudes is the death of the departed prince Kâcân Malik Ghâzi. May God illuminate his tomb!

The elegy is written in an extremely inflated and involved style and it has been difficult to make sense of portions of it. The first words *دیر باز* do not make sense.

and make his scales heavy with His mercies! On Friday, the 3rd of the month of Zil Hijjah, in the year 693 A.H., when

*Couplet.*

The moon, like love in a Kafir's heart, was quite unseen;  
And the sun, with uplifted sword, with the army of Islam came;  
the great prince, who was the Sun in the sky of the State, and the brightness of whose honour shone from his forehead, and whose zeal for holy warfare was firm, put his auspicious foot in the stirrup. They explained to his intellect, which was quick in solving all difficulties, that Tamar had arrived with his army within three farsangs. When morning broke, he started from the camp on his march; and halted at a distance of one farsang from the accursed ones. He chose as the battlefield a place within the boundaries of the Bāgh Sarīr, on the banks of the river of Lahaur (Lahore), so that he had in his neighbourhood the water of the Dehandi<sup>1</sup> and a big swamp. He fortified the place strongly, and arranged that when the infidels should be opposed to him both pieces of water should be of use to his army; as on account of the river, no part of his troops would be able to take to flight, nor would any danger befall any part of his army from the infidels. In truth, these precautionary measures showed how great the prudence and how wonderful the strategy of that world-conquering Khān was. But alas! When evil destiny overtakes one, no skill is of any avail; and the strings of all plans get entangled.

*Complete.*

Him whom doth evil fortune meet,  
His affairs to his enemy's wishes fall,  
When fortune like a madman goes astray,  
Wisdom like the blind into a well doth fall.

<sup>1</sup>It so happened that on that day the moon and the sun, who are so intimately connected with kings, hung in the sign of the fish; and Mars, the redness of whose face is caused by the blood of the

<sup>1</sup> I cannot make out this word. It is written like Wainandi in the lith. ed. and Dehandi in the MS. It appears, however, that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan, S. W. of Dibalpur.

<sup>2</sup> This extremely inflated passage appears to be mutilated. The lith. ed. and the MSS. differ much, and it is difficult to make sense of portions of it.

nobles of the State, drew the arrows of destruction and the bolts of ruin from the quiver of that sign, and for the Khān, who was a lion to the gemini, the signs of disturbances and the thoughts of ruin were clear and manifest from the watery sign, the house of fear and destruction; and the text of "then brothers fled from one another" was written on the leaf [of truth]. In short, at midday, when the horseman of the sky was in the region of noon, the life of the world-brightening prince drew near the hour of its destruction. Suddenly [a cloud of] dust appeared from the direction of those infidels; and the Khān Ghāzi mounted his horse that same hour, and ordered that all his soldiers, and adherents, his officers and men should act according to the text, "Kill all the infidels as they would kill you all," drew them up in a line a hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander, and after arranging the right and left wings, stationed his own highly accomplished person in the centre, like the moon among all the stars ready for a holy war. The heathen Tātars, on whom may there be loss and ruin, crossed the river of Lahore, and confronted the ranks of the Musalmans. These barbarians, born in deserts, and friends of desolation, placed owls' feathers on their accursed heads. The army of Islām, consisting of Turk and Khalj maliks, and the notables of Hindustan, and the entire body of soldiers, lifted up their hands in the prayer-ground of battle, crying 'God is great'; for the reason that the prophet, on whom be the benediction and peace of God! has identified holy war with prayer; and has said we betake ourselves to holy war against the greatest from holy war against the smallest. In their first onset they brought some of the strongest amongst the tribes of the Mughals under their swords; and the spears of the Maliks in attendance on the prince so stuck in the bodies of the foes, that the blood spurted out from every one of them to the height of the spears, and the plumes of the arrows of the Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, so became interlaced on the persons of the Tātars that no space was left.

*Couplet.*

At the first onset, the prince's arrow sprung;  
The Tātars, all at once, inert became.

Each time that the Non-hearted lord struck with his sword,

which like his faith was stainless, and rushed out from the line of battle, the sword as it were trembled, in the battlefield, for fear of his heroic attributes, and becoming all tongue said to him, "For this one day leave the work of the destruction of these accursed ones to the slaves of thy greatness, and do not move out in thy own gracious person; for the sword hath two faces; and the sword of death is shameless, through intoxication. It cannot be said what will happen to whom, through the decree of the Almighty. I blink my eye (i.e., my eye is dazzled) at thy extreme perfection."

*Couplets.*

Go not! for I place the dust [of thy feet] on my eyes.  
Do not! for I am afraid of the evil eye.  
The sky hath not such a bright face seen!  
I throw myself on that fire as a sacrifice.

During the time that he was engaged in carrying on the holy war in the field of endeavour, each of the weapons spoke as follows with a tongue suited to its condition. The lance said: "Withdraw, O Prince! thy hand from me, for the tongue of my blade has become blunt with much smiting and slaying; and I have no power left now to strike thy enemy in the face. God forbid that when I strike I make a futile stroke." The arrow said: "Oh! thou! whose true aim has untied the knot of the nodes, go not to attack these wicked men; for I myself in my flight may throw dust on my head. God forbid that the narrow-eyed Turk of the Sky, who is in the fifth mansion, should shoot an arrow of destruction at you, in the way of tyranny and ruin, from the bow of hostility and malevolence, from his place of ambush at the door of the eighth mansion." The lasso said: "You should not allow the string of the place to escape from the hand of thought, to-day; for I am writhing in pain, on account of this hasty war and rash conflict. Delay for a moment in the place of deliberation for Islam and Musalmans are to-day like the entangled ropes of the tents of prosperity. Ah God! do not allow so much amplitude to the custom of lasso-throwing with these people."

*Couplet.*

I have with gladness put my head in a noose before thee,  
Oh lasso-thrower mine, throw the lasso of thy curls.

In short the prince, the defender of the faith and the destroyer of idolatry, carried on the battle with great energy and vigour against that band of heathens, with the whole main body of his troops, from noon till sunset.

The shouts of the victorious, and the cries of those eager for combat, deafened the ears of the earth, and the hearing of the sky; and the fiery tongues which flew up from the heads of the lances, and the tongues of the swords, which did not err by a single letter in delivering the messages of the angels of death, all uttered the text, that it was the day on which men fled from their brethren. The surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men, who had lost their sons, overflowed with blood; and the face of the sky, like the heads of sons who had lost their fathers, was covered with dust.

*Couplet.*

Why does the steel of the sword glow like fire, oh father ?<sup>1</sup>  
That it may place the mark of orphanhood on my heart !

In the very midst of this trouble, the very heart of this danger and confusion, an arrow from the aim of fate suddenly reached the wing of that falcon of the expanse of holy war; and the bird of his soul fled from the cage of the body towards the garden of paradise. At the same moment, the back of the religion of Muhammad, on whom be the peace and benediction of God ! broke like the wretched hearts of orphans ! and the structure of the faith of Ahmad fell down like the tombs of the poor ! Strength passed away from the arm of the State, and radiance from the sun of Islam ! Exactly at the hour of sunset, the moon of the life of the prince, whose fortune had become pale, set in the west of death. The sky, like a mourner, put on a blue robe, and black tears began to flow over its cheeks. Saturn like a faithful mourner put on a black robe, and shouted lamentations for the prince's death to the people of Hindostan. Jupiter, grieving for that corpse, covered with dust, threw down his blood-stained robe and his torn garments and turban in the dust. The heart of Mars, on account of the prince's death, became narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and the face of his life, like

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear why the question is put to the father; but the lith. ed. and all the MSS. agree in reading *ای پدر* !



the curls of Negroes, became tight and black; and owing to this grief, a thorn pierced the heart of blood. The fish (i.e. the sign piece) panted, as if it was a ram in the clutches of a butcher. The Sun did not rise for shame; as it had not prevented such a calamity; and had not stopped such a catastrophe; and sank in the earth. When Venus saw what misery had been caused to all existences by this war, she changed the tone of her tambourine, and began singing in a different tune. Instead of playing on her instruments, she wept over the death of that magnanimous prince, who had ever been so generous to all his servants. Mercury, who like a secretary used to write the gazettes of his victories in his wars and excursions; blackened his face, after this calamity, with the ink of his inkstand, and made a robe of paper for himself with the leaves of his gazette. The bright moon rose in the shape of a very thin crescent, on the horizon, on that day of world-upheaval.

*Couplets.*

Thou layest thy face in the dust, alas! I do not wish thee thus.  
 Oh moon of my life! I do not wish thee to be under the ground;  
 If thou goest a-hunting, the dust thou treadest is my place.  
 Thy companionship is pleasant for me. I do not wish thee thus.

May the great and holy God raise the gracious, pure and saintly soul of that victorious prince to a higher position and a more elevated plane! And make him taste of the full cup of his own beauty, greatness, and glory! May every grace, and kindness and favour, that he showed to this poor and forlorn one, be the cause of his attaining a higher rank and the obliteration of his errors. Amen! Oh God of all the world and all its inhabitants!

When this intelligence reached Sultan Balbān, he became sorely afflicted and grieved. At this time, he was more than eighty years of age, and although he endeavoured to show that he was strong and brave, the marks of the infirmity and fragility which had found their way into his condition, owing to this calamity, became manifest to all; and his state became worse day by day. After these events, the Sultan sent Kaikhusru to Multan in place of his father, after conferring a canopy and a *darbāsh* on him. He also sent for Bughrā Kāshān from Lakhnauti, and said to him: "The separation from

thy elder brother has made me sad and infirm; I see that the hour of my passing away is approaching. At this time thy absence from me, when I have no heir but thyself, is inexpedient. Thy son Kaikubâd and thy brother's son Kaikhusru are both young; and have no experience of the world. If the kingdom falls into their hands, they will not be able, owing to the immaturity of their youth and their hankering after pleasures, to keep it safe. You will have to do homage to either of them, if they sit on the throne of Dehli. But if you ascend that throne, the ruler of Lakhnauti will submit to you, and obey you. You should not, therefore, go away from Dehli. Bughrâ Khân, however, had the desire of ruling at Lakhnauti in his heart; and when the Sultân appeared to be slightly better, he started for Lakhnauti, without obtaining leave, on the pretext of going out to hunt. He had, however, not yet reached his destination, when the Sultân's malady grew worse. This time the Sultân sent for the Malik-ul-Umra, Fakhruddin Kotwâl, and gave directions for Kaikhusru being appointed as his successor. After three days, he was united to the mercy of God; and was buried in the Dâr-ul-Amân (the mansion of safety, the royal cemetery).

As Fakhr-ul-Umrâ, the Kotwâl, and his adherents, had been hostile to the martyred Khân, the father of Kaikhusru, they sent the latter to Multan under a false pretext.

The period of Sultân Ghiâsuddin Balban's rule extended to twenty-two years, and a few months.

#### SULTÂN MU'IZZUDDIN KAİKUBÂD.

After the death of Sultân Ghiâsuddin Balban, Kaikubâd, the son of Bughrâ Khân, who was eighteen years of age, was raised to the throne, with the title of Sultân Mu'izzuddin Kaikubâd. This prince was adorned with excellent moral qualities. He had always been brought up and educated under the eye of Sultân Balban, and stern teachers and governors had been employed for him. Consequently up to this time, he had not been allowed to enjoy any pleasures, and to satisfy any desires. When he was suddenly freed from all control, owing to the first onset of youth, and of the desire of the pleasures of the senses, he opened wide the doors of pleasures and enjoyment, and preferred the satisfaction of his lusts to the

duties of government. He became entirely devoted to vanity and the worship of self; and as people adopt the religion (and practices) of their rulers, young and old were engrossed with pleasures and amusements. The Sultân left Dehli and laid the foundations of a grand castle, and of splendid gardens, on the banks of the Jumna at Kilokheri; and made it his capital.

Owing to Sultân Mu'izzuddin's immersion in pleasures and dissipation, harlots, and jesters, and musicians, and singers came to his court from all sides of the world; and as there are many classes of these people in India, the work of dissipation and debauchery went on at a prodigious rate, and the doors of wickedness and prostitution were opened wide; and the names of sorrow and anxiety were forgotten and became obliterated from the hearts of people. The court of the Sultân was perpetually filled and crowded with beautiful women, and sweet singers, and witty men, and courtiers with silvery tongues. A single moment did not pass without enjoyment and pleasure; and people spent their lives in giving gifts and rewards and in lavishness and prodigality.

Malik Nizâmuddin, who was the nephew and also the son-in-law of the Malik-ul-Umra, Kotwal, became very intimate with the Sultân; and the affairs of the government were entrusted entirely to his judgment. Malik Kawâmuddin 'Ilākā, who was one of the incomparable men of the age, became the Umdat-ul-Mulk (the chief minister) and Naib Vakîldar (the deputy representative). As Malik Nizâmuddin was a crafty and deceitful man, the Balbâni Maliks, who were the officers and auxiliaries of the Mu'izzi government, became frightened and anxious, owing to the power and influence acquired by him; and endeavoured to gain his favour. In all affairs of State they kept his wishes before their eyes, and did not allow the string of subservience to escape from their hands. Malik Nizâmuddin was narrow-minded and covetous. When he found that the Amirs and Maliks were humble and subservient to him, and Sultân Mu'izzuddin was sunk in debauchery and dissipation, a mad desire of acquiring power and empire, which had really no manner of connection with him, got into his head; and he girded up his loins for the extirpation of the Balbani dynasty. In pursuance of this foolish thought, and mad ambition, he said to Sultân Mu'izzuddin: "Kaikhosru is a co-sharer with you in the empire, and he is adorned

with princely qualities and regal attributes." He also impressed on his mind the fact that the Amirs and Maliks were favourably disposed to his cause, and in this way obtained an order for his assassination. Sultân Mu'izzuddîn listened to, and accepted, the words of that deceitful man; and sent an order to Multân for summoning Kaikhusrû, and he employed some men to murder that innocent prince on the way. The helpless Kaikhusrû started for Dehli in compliance with the order; but at Ruhtak he attained to martyrdom. After this Malik Nizâmuddîn falsely accused the vazîr, Khwajah Khatîr, of an offence, and had him marched round the capital, mounted on an ass. The fear of Malik Nizâmuddîn which had been produced in the hearts of the Amirs and Maliks became greater, and all men turned to him.

At this time, the intelligence of the approach of the Mughals to the neighbourhood of Lahore came. Malik Barbak Beg Tars and Khan Jahân were sent to quell the disturbance created by them. A sanguinary conflict took place in the vicinity of Lahore, and most of the Mughals were slain; and a number of them were taken prisoners and brought to Dehli. After that, Malik Nizâmuddîn said one day to Sultân Mu'izzuddîn, that the Mughal nobles were all of the same class, and they had many followers. If they united together and acted treacherously, it would be difficult to remedy the evil. With such glossed and specious words, he deceived the Sultân, and obtained permission for the massacre of the Mughal Amirs; and they were all seized one day and slaughtered. Their families were also extirpated. Some of the Balbani Maliks, who were allied to the Mughal Amirs, or had friendly relations with them, were imprisoned and sent to distant fortresses. Malik Nizâmuddîn had no compunction about destroying old families; and he did away with Amîr Shâhbak, the feudatory of Multân, and Amîr Yezki, the feudatory of Baran, who had been Amirs of Sultân Balban, by such pretexts and subterfuges as he could think of. He made the Sultân so subservient to him, that whenever anyone at any time, loyally, and for the Sultân's own good, communicated even a few words about his machinations and plots to the latter, he at once repeated it to him; and had the man seized and made over to him. Malik Nizâmuddîn's wife, who was the daughter of the Malik-ul-Umra, acquired great influence in the Sultân's *harem*; and the

Sultān used to address her by the title of mother. Owing to his great power, the Amīrs and Maliks became completely obsequious and subservient to him; and endeavoured by every means that they knew, and could employ, to comply with his wishes; and to protect themselves from his machinations. His threshold became the asylum of high and low; and the dignity and glory of the Mū'izzi court were shattered.

*Poetry.*

The king who lifts the base to grandeur high,  
Makes every danger great and high; alas!  
The fire, which makes the water boil up high,  
Doth surely bring contempt and danger on itself.

When the Malik-ul-Umra Kotwal became cognizant of the dangerous plots, and the insane machinations, of Malik Nizāmuddīn, who stood in the place of a son to him, he sent for him to his private chamber; and endeavoured by means of wise advice and weighty arguments to drive out from his head his absurd designs and evil intentions; but they had no effect whatever. That man with the ill-digested understanding, and the evil-disposed heart, would not attend to his words; and said in answer, "All that you say is right and the contrary is wrong. But as I have made the people my enemies, and they all know what my intentions are, if I now draw back my hand, they will not withhold their hands from me." The Malik-ul-Umra showed his detestation for Malik Nizāmuddīn's designs; and was sorely vexed with him. When this became known to the great men, and the notables, they all praised the Malik-ul-Umra; and his farsightedness and his endeavours for the safety of the State became manifest to all.

In short, Bughrā Khān, the father of Sultān Mu'iz-uddin, who was the ruler of the territory of Lakhnauti and bore the title of Sultān Nāsiruddīn, heard that the Sultān was always immersed in amusements and dissipation, and did not attend to the affairs of government; and that Malik Nizāmuddīn, having destroyed all the Balbani Amīrs and Maliks, and all the useful ministers and officials, wanted to rise in rebellion; and wrote letters giving much advice to his son; and he informed all the Amīrs and Maliks by hints and implications. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, on account of the pride of youth

and the intoxication of wine, did not lend his ears to his father's words; and felt no anxiety about what his father had written to him. When Sultân Nâsiruddîn found that his advice had no effect in his absence, he wished to have an interview with his son, so that he might tell him face to face what he had to say. He sent a letter, written with his own hand, to his son; and said in it: "Oh my son, the desire to see thee has deprived me of all strength; do not let me suffer the pangs of separation any longer; and allow me to have a sight of thee." When Sultân Mu'izzuddîn read his father's affectionate letter, his love was revived, and he sent letters containing loving messages to him, by the hand of persons who were near his throne; and expressed a desire for seeing him. In this way, the chain of affectionate feelings was moved from both sides; and after the interchange of epistles and messages, it was settled that Sultân Mu'izzuddîn should travel from Dehli to Audh; and Sultân Nâsiruddîn should also come there from his capital; and the two kings should meet there; and should have the pleasure of each other's company. The *Kiran-us-Sa'dain* of Amîr Khusru is the narrative of this meeting between father and son. It appears from Amîr Khusru's account, that Sultân Nâsiruddîn started from Lakhnauti with the intention of conquering Dehli and destroying his son; and Sultân Mu'izzuddîn also hastened forward for a battle and bloodshed; and it was at Audh that matters were peaceably arranged.

To be brief, Sultân Mu'izzuddîn wanted to hasten alone to meet his father. Malik Nizâmuddîn said that it was inexpedient that the bādshâh should travel such a long distance alone. [He argued that] in matter of State no deference should be shown to the relation of father and son. It was right that the Sultân should march with all pomp, and all the paraphernalia of Empire, and a well-equipped army; so that all the Râys, Rajas and Zemindârs might be impressed with fear and awe at the sight of the splendour and grandeur of the bādshâh; and might behave with complete humility, obedience and subservience. According to Malik Nizâmuddîn's advice the Sultân started towards Audh with a well-equipped army; and with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty. When Sultân Nâsiruddîn heard of this, and knew that it was according to the advice of Malik Nizâmuddîn, he also set out from

Lakhnauti, with a large retinue and troops and elephants, to meet his son. The two armies encamped on the two banks of the Sarayu. For three days messages and letters were interchanged about the arrangements of the interview. Finally, it was settled that the son should sit on the throne; and Sultân Nâsiruddîn should cross the river; and should show due reverence to his son, and should come before the throne. Sultân Mu'izzuddîn ordered his pavilion to be erected, and sat in it with all the grandeur of Kaikhusru and Kaikubâd, and ordered the place of meeting to be arranged and adorned. Sultân Nâsiruddîn dismounted near the ante-chamber, and at three places performed the ceremony of kissing the ground. Then, when he came in front of the throne, Sultân Mu'izzuddîn could not restrain himself any longer; he descended from the throne and fell at his father's feet; and they embraced each other and wept on each other's breasts. Tears flowed from the eyes of the spectators on seeing their condition. The father caught the son's hand, and placed him on the throne; and wanted to stand in front of it. But the son came down again, and made the father sit on the throne, and himself sat down respectfully in front of him. Tangahs of gold and silver were distributed. Poets recited odes and eulogies; musicians sang; and ushers and heralds made proclamations; and carried out all ceremonials of royal pomp and grandeur, connected with grand assemblages, that were customary. The two kings were delighted and charmed with mutual discourse and conversation.

After a time Sultân Nâsiruddîn got up, crossed the river, and went to his own pavilion. The father and the son then sent each other rare and valuable presents, dainty fruits and articles of dessert, and delicious foods and beverages. The soldiers of the two armies were ordered to go to one another's quarters, and to behave like friends. Sultân Nâsiruddîn came on several successive days to the pavilion of his son. The two kings enjoyed the society of each other and held meetings and indulged in various pleasures and enjoyments, and drank with each other. When the day of farewell approached, Sultân Nâsiruddîn said to his son, "Jamshîd said that a king who does not keep so much money in his treasury that he may help his soldiers on the day of the onset of his enemies, and may come to the rescue of his subjects in times of calamity and famine, such a king does not deserve to be called a

king of men," and gave him other advice, such as was specially deserving the attention of kings. Sultān Mu'izzuddīn said, that as he had no benefactor, or sympathiser, who would waken him from the sleep of carelessness, the king should make him acquainted with whatever might be right and proper in all matters; so that he might make it the guide of his conduct and might not allow it to be transgressed in any way. Sultān Nāṣiruddīn, in an ebullition of paternal love, said: "I have endured the troubles of this long journey with the one object of making your ears of wisdom heavy with the pearls of advice; of wakening you from the sleep of inattention which was incidental to youth and power and the desire for pleasure; and of doing everything that was required of the love and affection of a father." He then ordered everyone to retire, and directed that Malik Nizāmuddīn and Ḳawāmuddīn, who was the Umdat-ul-Mulk, might attend; so that he might say what he had to say in their hearing. The two ministers came. Sultān Nāṣiruddīn then said with love and pity: "Oh son! when I heard that thou hadst ascended the throne of Dehli, I became extremely pleased. I knew that I had the territory of Lakhnauti already; now I had acquired the territory of Dehli also. Now it is two years, however, that I have heard stories of thy pleasures and dissipation, of thy neglect and inattention; and I am astonished that thou art still safe. From that date, I have mourned for thee and for myself; and I have seen the kingdoms of Dehli and Lakhnauti in the embrace of destruction; and have emptied my heart of all hopes of them; and specially from that day, when I heard that thou hadst ordered my father's servants, who had been brought up under his protection, and who were thy sincere well-wishers, to be slain. Because thou hast ordered them to be slain, others have lost all confidence in thee. I have no hope, no expectation, now in the stability of the empire. Bethink thee of this, my son! that my elder brother, who was fit to adorn a throne, became a martyr in my father's lifetime. His son who was fit to be a king, and who was thy strength and support, thou hadst him destroyed at the instigation of those who wished thee ill; so that they might do away with thee; and the empire of Dehli might pass into the grasp of a strange family and tribe. They would not leave our names, and no vestige of us, on the face of the earth: If thou hast no pity,



oh son ! on thyself, have pity on thy family and offspring. Don't destroy thyself in sport, and take pity on thy own condition, and attend to these few words of advice of mine. The first is this : take pity on thy own life and attend to the reformation of thy nature. The colour of thy cheeks was fresh and red like the rose and the ruby ; it has become yellower than turmeric ! Restrain thyself from the lasciviousness which has made thee weak and emaciated, and do not hanker after it ; for when life itself is in danger, no one can enjoy any pleasure.

*Couplets.*

A king should not be drunk or mad ;  
 He should not, ever, in lusts indulge.  
 A king should e'er a shepherd be.  
 Alas ! that a shepherd should e'er be drunk.  
 When the shepherd is drunk with the red, red wine  
 The sheep in the stomach of the wolf will sleep.  
 In the rules of empire, and of State,  
 Permanence in wisdom lies.

The second counsel is this : that you should refrain from slaying the Amîrs and Maliks ; so that the confidence which the ministers and officials have in you may not be impaired. There are these two men, viz. Malik Nizâmuddin, and Kawâmuddin, who are ministers of mature understanding and experience. You should select another man like these from amongst the Amîrs ; and should associate yourself with these three ; and consider each one of these one of the pillars of your greatness. You should transact every business which will come up with the consent and advice of these. Make over to one of these the Dewan of the Vazarat (i.e. the office of the Vazîr or chief minister) ; to the second, the Dewan of the Risâlat (or the office of the secretary for foreign affairs) ; to the third, the Dewan of 'Arx (or the office of the secretary for petitions) ; and to the fourth, the Dewan of Insha (or the office of correspondence). Allow each of the three to have equal access to you ; although their ranks, in consideration [of the importance] of their duties, may be different. Do not give any of them so much power that it may bear fruit in insubordination and revolt. The third advice is this : that every secret of State which you may have to

reveal, you should disclose in the presence of all the three. Do not place so much confidence in any one of them, that the others may be disheartened. The fourth counsel is this: that you offer your prayers regularly, and fast in the month of Ramazān; so that owing to the non-performance of these two duties, ruin in this world, and in the next, may not befall you. I have heard that one of the deceitful learned men of the age has, in order to please you, given you permission to take your meals during the fast of the Ramazān, and has said, that if you confer freedom on a prisoner of war, or give food to sixty poor men, it will absolve you of the sin of eating during the fast. Have nothing to do with the sayings and doings of such learned men. Advice in religious matters should not be taken from greedy and avaricious learned men, who have made the world the object of their adoration. Questions about the rules of religion should only be propounded to men who have turned their faces from the world, and in the eye of whose spirits riches and the goods of this world have become worthless." He said this; and burst out weeping and sobbing. He then took Sultān Mū'izzuddīn in his arms and bade him adieu. When he held him in his embrace, he said to him, in a whisper, "Get rid of Nizāmuddīn as soon as you can; for if he gets an opportunity, he will not let you live one day." He said this, and weeping, went back to his own pavilion. That day he abstained from all food, and said to his confidants, "To-day I have said my last farewell to my son and to the kingdom of Dehli."

After that Sultān Mu'izzuddīn marched from Audh toward Dehli. For a few days, he remembered his father's advice and instructions; and kept himself back from pleasures and dissipation. In spite of the fact that the love of wine and women had become a second nature to him, and his boon companions tried by signs and suggestions to put the chain of dissipation in motion, and incited him, he was prevented by his father's advice, which had become known to everybody, and by shame and modesty, and restrained himself. As the news of his convivial meetings, and the noise of his indulgence in pleasures and dissipation, had reached the various sides and quarters of the globe, bands of beautiful courtesans, and persons who made it their business to minister to the lusts of the rich, came to his court, and every day showed themselves in his

neighbourhood, after adorning themselves and making themselves ready for his companionship, and wanted to be of service to him. As the Sultan had given away his heart for the society of these bands, and had gambled away his life for his desire for them, although he tried to remember his father's advice, yet from time to time the reins of his heart slipped away from his hand, and from moment to moment the fire of desire blazed up. In spite of himself, he cast stealthy glances on the faces and cheeks of the courtesans, and looked at them from the corners of his eyes. It so happened that an artful young courtesan, who was at the head of the beauties of the age, and was the chief of the incomparable ones of the period, with an embroidered cap on her head, a gold-worked robe on her person, and a jewelled belt round her waist, mounted on a steed of Arab strain, came in front of the royal canopy at the time of starting, and showed a hundred blandishments and coquetish gestures. She displayed her wonderful arts, and her graceful movements, which bordered on the region of magic, and recited this couplet with a dainty voice—

*Couplet.*

On my eyes, oh love! thy foot thou'lt place,  
My eyes on thy path will I throw, so thou mayest o'er them  
pass.

After that, she said, "I believe that the opening lines of the ode are more appropriate to the circumstances of the case; but I cannot recite them out of respect for thee!" The Sultan said, "Recite them, and fear not." She sang—

Oh cypress of the Silvery hue! to the desert dost thou roam,  
A wondrous promise-breaker thou! that leaving me thou  
wouldst go.

The Sultan was so astonished and wonder-struck at the sight of her world-illuminating beauty, and the spectacle of her charming figure and gestures, that he forgot all his father's counsel on the instant. He lost all control over himself, and stood on the road and talked with that breaker of vows. He dismounted and called for wine, and halted at that very spot. He arranged a meeting of his boon companions, and sat engrossed with the sight of her dancing. He then repeated this couplet:

**SULTAN MU'IZZUDDIN KAKURHAN.**

*At night I wine renounce; for fear of the blandishments of a  
Fair.*

*At dawn the face of Phœbe to the wine-cup doth me drag.*

When that witty wanton heard this couplet from the mouth of  
the Sultan, she said in reply:

*My saint-alluring coquetry, a recluse of a hundred years,  
Takes by the forelock of his head; and to the distant wine-shop  
drags.*

The Sultan was struck with surprise and wonder at the beauty  
of her intellect and the brilliance of her repartee. He made her his  
cup bearer. After a show of humility and reverence, she said—

“ Although I'm fairer than the moon !

I'm yet a slave of the slaves of the king !”

and filled the cup and placed it in the Sultan's hand. The latter  
took it from her hand, and repeated these couplets to express his  
passionate love :—

“ When the cup comes round to me, give it to my comrades  
here ;

And pass me by, that on Phœbe's face my wondering eye I  
may fix.

If thou wilt deign my cup-bearer to be, Oh love !

Who dare declare that wine is sinful and impure.

He said this and drained the cup. The Amirs and Maliks began  
once more to indulge in dissipation and debauchery. The next day  
the Sultan started from that place. He held convivial meetings  
at the different stations, and indulged in amusements and pleasures  
till he reached Dehli. He took up his quarters in the castle of  
Kilokhari. The citizens made great rejoicings on the return of the  
Sultan, and had feasts, and built ornamental domes. The indulgence  
in pleasures, and feasting and rejoicing, became so universal in the  
days of Sultan Mu'izzudin, that in every lane and quarter of the  
town people drank wine publicly and held feasts. Care and anxiety  
left the heart of the people, and insouciance took their place. When  
a few months had passed in this way, the Sultan became ill, and his  
great lasciviousness and constant drinking made him weak and  
feeble.

*At this time he wanted, according to his father's advice, to remove Nizāmuddīn; but he could not come to any wise determination in the matter; and on the spur of the moment said to him, "You should go to Multān, and attend to the affairs of that fief." Malik Nizāmuddīn knew that the Sultan wanted to get him out of the way, delayed in starting, and made various excuses. But those who were near the Sultan's person, and who had always been anxious to encompass the death of Malik Nizāmuddīn, removed him, as soon as they became aware of the Sultan's intentions, by giving him poison.*

*Couplet.*

As he did not spare to shed the blood of men,  
Time's self its sword in his life blood did imbrue

Those in power then sent for Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz, who was the Governor of Sāmānah, and had been the commander of the guards of the palace, from that fief; and appointed him to be the commander of the forces of the empire, and made him the feudatory of Baran, and conferred on him the title of Shāistah Khān. They made Malik Āitamar Kujan the Bārbak (the master of ceremonies); and Malik Āitamar Surkhah the Vakīl-dar (the representative in the council); and the various offices were distributed anew among the nobles. In the meantime, the Sultan's illness became worse. He was seized with paralysis, was confined to his bed, and could not attend to any business. The desire of seizing the empire entered the heads of all the great nobles; a madness seized every heart, and a vain ambition took possession of every breast. Some of the Balbani nobles, in gratitude for the favours they had received from the family, brought the son of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, who was still a mere child, out of the *haram*; and giving him the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din, placed him on the throne. They erected the royal pavilions and tents on the Nāiri Chabutāra; and kept the young Sultan there. The Amīrs and Maliks encamped round the pavilion. Sultan Mu'izzuddīn, who was really past all treatment, was kept under treatment in the castle of Kilokhari.

Malik Jalāluddīn Fīroz Khalji, who was the commander of the forces, encamped at Bahāpur with all the Khaljis who formed a large body and mustered the forces. Malik Āitamar Kujan, the

*Bārbak, and Malik Aitamar Surkhah the Wakil-der, and all the Bahmani Amirs, combined together, and determined that such of the nobles as were strangers, and were not real Turks, should be removed out of the way. They made a list of their names. The name of Malik Jalāluddin Khalji was in that list. When the latter became aware of this, he collected his men, and brought together all the Khalj Amirs and Maliks, and he also got some other Amirs to join them. At this time, Malik Aitamar Kujan, Bārbak, mounted, so that he might induce Malik Jalāluddin Firoz by false pretences to come (to their camp), and there assassinate him. As Malik Jalāluddin Firoz had become aware of this design, as soon as Malik Aitamar Kujan came to the door of the tent, he was dragged down from his horse and hacked to pieces.*

*Couplets.*

Place not thy foot on the path of treachery ;  
 For in the end into the snare thou'lt fall.  
 Hast not, from the traveller on this path, thou heard,  
 That who so dug a well, into it he fell ?

And the sons of Malik Jalāluddin, who were brave and courageous, went with five hundred horsemen into the royal pavilion, took Sultān Shamsuddīn from the throne, and carried him, and the sons of the Malik-ul-Umra, to Bahāpur to their father. They killed Malik Aitamar Surkhah, who was pursuing them, on the way. As the notables and the common people of Dehli did not like that the Khalj should gain the mastery, they came out in large numbers, with the intention of assisting Sultān Shamsuddīn; and assembling together, in front of the Badā-ūn Gate, determined to attack Malik Jalāluddin Firoz. But the Malik-ul-Umra turned them away, and dispersed them, in order to save his own sons, who were in the custody of Malik Jalāluddin; and most of the Amirs and Maliks joined the latter. A Malik whose father had been killed by order of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn, went into the castle of Kilu Khari, and giving him, who had only a little life left in his body, a few kicks, threw him into the river.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn's reign lasted for three years and a few months.

## SULTAN JALĀLUDDĪN KHALJĪ.

I have seen in one of the authoritative histories, that the tribe of Khalj are the descendants of Kālīj Khān, son-in-law of Chengiz Khān; and his story is this. He had an unpleasantness with his wife, the daughter of Chengiz Khān. For fear of the latter, he had no alternative but to simulate softness and courtesy. He was all along looking for a release, a means of escape, but could not find any. At last when Chengiz Khān defeated and crushed Sultān Jalāluddīn on the bank of the river Sind, and having freed his mind of all anxiety about Irān and Turān, returned towards his own country, and at about the same time passed away; Kālīj Khān, who had carefully examined the hilly country of Ghur and Gharjistan and their strength and inaccessibility, settled down there with his family and tribesmen, who numbered about three thousand families. As Chengiz Khān was dead, and none of his sons took any notice of his movements, he remained there: and his descendants multiplied. As the Sultāns of Ghūr and its dependencies conquered Hindustan, the Khalj, owing to their being in the neighbourhood, came at different times into that country, and entered into service there, and attained to high rank. The father of Sultan Jalāluddīn and the father of Sultan Mahmud Khaljī Mandvi, who are among the great and successful Maliks and renowned Sultāns, were grandsons of Kālīj-Khān. Kālīj became Khālīj by a change of letter, and by frequency of use became Khalj. According to the author of the *Saljuḡnamah* (however) Turk the son Japhet had eleven sons, one of these was named Khalj. His descendants are called the Khalj.

In short, Sultan Jalāluddīn set out from Bahāpur with a large following, and rode to the castle of Kilukhari, and for a few days he remained there as the deputy of Sultan Shamsuddīn. Then in the beginning of the year 688 A.H. he ascended the throne. He sent Malik Jhaju Kashli Khān, the nephew of Sultān Ghīṣuddīn, to Kara, after conferring that territory on him. The nobles who were on his side, as well as those who were hostile to him, did homage to him willingly or otherwise. As the residents of the capital were, however, not well-disposed to him, he, mindful of this, did not go into the city, and did not sit on the throne, on which the Sultāns had all along sat. He remained at Kilukhari, and ordered the Mu'izzī

castle (i.e. the castle which Sultan Mu'izzuddin Kaikubād had named) to be completed; and laid out a new garden in front of it on the bank of the Jumna. The Amirs and Maliks, also, built houses there. The foundations of a citadel of stone were laid, and in a short time, the citadel, and houses, and mosques, and a market were erected; and the place obtained the name of the new city. As Sultan Jalāluddin's government acquired stability, and the report of his piety, and patience, and modesty, and justice, and benevolence spread among men, the people of the city—young and old—all came forth, and rendered homage; and the Shaikhs, and the learned men, and the headmen of the various sects, received gifts and benefactions. The charge of the different fiefs and the various court appointments were distributed among the nobles. The eldest son of the Sultan received the title of Khān-i-Khānān, his second son of Arkali Khān, and his third son of Qadr Khān; and a parganah or territory was assigned to each. The brother of the Sultan received the title of Baghrash Khān and was made the commander of the forces. Alauddin and Ulugh Khān, who were the two nephews and sons-in-law of the Sultan, became respectively the *Amir buzurg* (the first noble) and the *Akhiryak* (the second noble); and Malik Ahmad Hab, the son of the Sultan's sister, the naib (deputy) and Bārbak (master of ceremonies); and Malik Khurram the Vakildar (representative of the sovereign in the darbar). Khwājah Khatir became the Vazir (minister); and the Malik-ul-Umra the Kotwāl. Repose and contentment now appeared among the people, high and low. The Sultan then went into the city with great pomp and splendour, and with his army in brilliant array. He dismounted at the palace gate, and bowed down twice in prayer; and sitting on the throne of the Sultāns said, "For years I have bowed my head before this throne. To-day I have been enabled to put my foot on it. How can I sufficiently express my gratitude to God for this!" He then mounted his horse, and rode towards the ruby Kiosk, and there dismounted at the gate, as he had hitherto been accustomed to do. Malik Ahmad Hab, Bārbak, who was the Umdat-ul-Mulk (the support of the state) represented, with all deference, that the ruby Kiosk now belonged to the Sultan, and there was no reason why he should dismount at the gate. The Sultān said that under all circumstances, one should show reverence to one's benefactor. Malik Ahmad Hab then said, that the



should reside in the Kiosk, which was the royal residence. The Khan said in reply, that Sultan Balban had built it when he was a Khan; and it was now the property of his descendants; and he had no kind of right to it. Malik Ahmad Hab replied, that such strictness was not possible in matters of State. The Sultan answered, that he could not transgress the rules of Islam, and act contrary to what was right and just, for the sake of temporary worldly expediency.

*Couplet.*

Can religion and reason e'er decree  
That the wise, for this world, the next should sacrifice ?

He then went into the ruby Kiosk on foot. He did not sit down at the place where Sultan Ghiásuddín used to sit, out of respect to the latter, and sat in the line which had been assigned to the Amírs. He then said to the Amírs and Maliks: "May worse evil befall the houses of Aitamar Kujan and Aitamar Surkbah ! for if they had not acted deceitfully and treacherously towards me, I would not have fallen into this danger; and should have passed the remaining days of my life performing the duties of a Khan or a Malik. Now I can not even imagine what the end will be ! Seeing that in spite of the power and grandeur of Sultan Balban, the length of his rule, and the greatness of his ministers and councillors, the empire did not remain with his descendants, will it remain with me ? and after me, what will happen to my offspring and dependants ?" Some of the Amírs present, who were wise and experienced, were saddened on hearing these words, and sympathized with him; others who were young and reckless, censured him, and said, "This man has just become a king; and he is already apprehending the decline of his rule. The vigour and sternness which should always characterize a ruler of men can not be expected of him." At the close of the same day Sultan Jaláluddín returned from the city and went to Kili Khari and made that his capital.

The year after the Sultan's accession, Malik Jhaju, nephew of Sultan Balban, who was the feudatory of Karah, raised the standard of hostility; and had prayers read, and coin struck, in his own name; and gave himself the title of Sultan Maghíuddín. Amír Ali Sarjándár, the Governor of Audh, who was called Hátim

Khān, and all the Balbanī Maliks who had fiefs in that quarter, combined with him. He marched with a large army toward Dehli, as he hoped that the citizens, who disliked the rule of the Khaljis, would befriend him. Sultān Jalāluddin, on hearing the news of this rebellion, left Khān-i-Khānān, his eldest son, as the Regent at Dehli, and started, accompanied by the old ministers and councillors, and at the head of a well-equipped army, to attack Malik Jhaju. He made Arkali Khān, his second son, who was noted for his bravery and heroism, the commander of the advanced guard, and sent brave and well-trying warriors with him. According to the orders he had received Arkali Khan crossed the Kalaskar<sup>1</sup> river with his army. Malik Jhaju came from the other side, with all the Balbanī Amirs and Maliks, and countless troops, and all the zamindars and renowned Rajas of that country, to oppose him; and a great battle took place; and he was defeated, and most of the commanders of his army were taken prisoners. Malik Jhaju took shelter with one of the indigenous chiefs; but was taken prisoner by the local head-man, and was brought as a captive to the Sultan. Arkali Khān mounted the prisoners on camels, and sent them to the Sultan, with iron collars and fetters on them. When they were brought in that condition before the Sultān, and his eyes fell on them, he ordered that they should be dismounted from the camels, and the fetters should be removed. He also ordered, that such of them as had been men of rank and consideration with Sultān Balban, should be taken to the *hamām* (baths) and should have their hands and faces washed. They were then dressed in special royal robes and anointed with 'atar. He then arranged a feast in his palace, and invited them to it, and asked them to drink wine with him.

*Couplet.*

'Tis easy, evil with evil to reward :  
If man thou art, do good for evil done.

They hung their heads down for shame, and were tongue-tied with bashfulness. The Sultān, in order to remove their agitation, said, "You drew your swords in the cause of your benefactor, and

did what the salt you had eaten and the fealty you had sworn demanded. This cannot be deemed to be blameworthy on your part." He ordered Malik Jhaju to be placed in a litter, and sent him to Multan; and he ordered that he should be confined in a house there, and should be treated with all honour, and provided with all articles of luxury and pleasure, which he might ask for. Malik Ahmed Hab and all the Khalj Amirs were displeased at the kindness which the Sultan had shown to the prisoners. They pointed out to him, that the generosity which he had displayed to this body of men, who deserved death, was contrary to the rules of empire, and nugatory of all principles of government. For if, they argued, due punishment was not meted out to men who created disturbances and raised rebellions, and their blood was not shed, the desire of power, and the lust of empire, would enter the heads of all, and how many revolutions would take place! The punishments which Sultān Balbān inflicted on rebels, and the seas of blood which he shed, most of these things, they said, had passed before the eyes of His Majesty; and the dread of it had not yet been obliterated from the hearts of men. Then, they said, that if they themselves had fallen into the enemies' hands, would the latter have left the name or any vestige of the Khaljis on the face of the earth? They argued, therefore, that not to punish them would be contrary to all sound policy.

*Couplets.*

'Tis better that the rebel's head should fall,  
That a traitorous army should be scattered wide.;  
No fresh green twig will the cypress adorn  
Till thou cuttest off the old and withered branch.

The Sultan said in reply: "What you all say is right and accords with the rules of imperial policy. But what can I do! For seventy years have I lived like a Musalman; and have never shed the blood of a Musalman. Now that I am old and have only a few years to live, I do not wish to imbrue my hand with a Moslem's blood; and gain for myself the name of a despot and tyrant. And if we had fallen into their hands, and they had shed our blood, the burden of answering for it to God would be on the

day of judgment, would have been on their shoulders and not on ours. I have been for years one of Sultán Balban's servants, and the debt of gratitude for his favours is heavy on my shoulders. I have taken possession of his kingdom. It would be the height of baseness and injustice if, in addition, I slew his adherents and dependants." After the Sultán had returned from Badá-ún he sent for 'Ala-ud-din, who was his son-in-law as well as the son of his brother, and who had been brought up by him, to Karah, after conferring that fief on him. When he arrived in Dehli crowned with success and victory, the citizens erected ornamental domes and made rejoicings.

Owing to Sultán Jalálud-din's patience, and disinclination to cause pain, many of the Amirs and Maliks said that he did not know how to rule a country, and govern an empire. It is said that thieves and robbers were repeatedly seized, and brought before him. He bound them by oaths not to commit thefts again; and released them. He used to say that although in a war he could rout an army, and could shed much blood, yet he could not order a man, who had been seized and brought before him, to be slain. On one occasion, one thousand highway robbers were brought before him. He did not order one of them to be executed; but put them all in boats, and sent them away to Lakhnauti. Flogging and amercoing, and imprisonment and torture, and greed for other people's wealth, which are the characteristics of despots and tyrants, were never perpetrated by him during the whole time of his sovereignty. It is said, that some ungrateful wretches, in whose natures wickedness was ingrained, and who were utterly destitute of all manly feelings, held meetings in which they drank wine, and talked how they could bring about the downfall of the Sultan. When the news of these gatherings reached him, he was not moved in any way; and said that men who were drunk, should not be held responsible for words which they might utter in their state of intoxication. One day Malik Táj-ud-din Kúji invited some great Amirs to his house, to a drinking party. When they were all drunk they said, "Sultán Jalál-ud-din is not fit to be the king. Malik Táj-ud-din is the fittest person for the throne." They all swore allegiance to him. One of them said, "I can slay him with this hunting knife"; another, "I can cut

off his head with this sword," The others bragged in the same way. When the Sultān heard this he sent for them, and by way of a challenge, he drew his sword from the scabbard and threw it down in front of them. He said then: "If any of you is man enough, he should take up this sword, and should stand up in front of me; so that he may know what real courage is." Malik Nasrat Sabbāh, who was a witty and fine-tempered man but who had himself uttered some nonsense at the meeting, said: "Your Majesty knows that words uttered by drunken men in a state of intoxication have no meaning. We, whom the Sultān has cherished and brought up like his sons, know that we are never hurt by a King with patience, and forbearance, and dignity like his. Therefore we cannot plot against him. The Sultān will also find no loyal and faithful Malik and Malikzādehs like us, and we know that he will not assent to our ruin and destruction. These words affected the Sultān; his anger subsided; he called for wine; and offered the cup with his own hand to Malik Nasrat Sabbāh. At the same time he ordered the conspirators to go to their respective fiefs; and to remain there for some time.

*Couplet.*

The sword of patience sharper is than sword of steel,  
Yea! Better than a hundred hosts, it victory doth gain.

In respect of offences committed by those who were near him he did not inflict any corporal chastisement on the offenders; nor did he imprison them. When he conferred a fief on any person he did not again take it away.

It is said that at the time when he was the commander of Sultān Balban's guard, and held the fief of Sāmānah Maunān Sirājuddin Sādī, who was one of the poets of the age, held a village among those included in the fief of Sāmānah, by way of subsistence allowance. Sultān Jalāluddin<sup>1</sup> demanded rent from the Maunān as he did in the case of other grantees. The Maunān was displeased at this, and wrote verses in praise of the Sultān (apparently

<sup>1</sup> This anecdote has been given, in a somewhat confused style, as the original, owing to the author's insisting on giving the title of Sultān to Jalāluddin, even before he ascended the throne.

Ghiṣṣuddīn Balban or Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubād); and inserted in some complaints against his officers. Sultān Jalāluddīn refused to pay no attention to the Maulānā, owing to his having other things to attend to. The Maulānā was grieved at heart, wrote some satirical verses against Sultān Jalāluddīn, and put in them the name of Khaljīnāmāh. At that time Sultān Jalāluddīn was still the Governor of Sāmānah. The Khaljīnāmāh, which contained some bitter satire, reached the Sultān. The Maulānā, fearing that the Sultān would try to have his revenge for the satire, left Sāmānah and took up his residence at another place. About the same time the Sultān ravaged a village belonging to some Mundāshīr. A Mundāshīr confronted the Sultān, and inflicted a wound on him, the marks of which remained till the day of his death. When Jalāluddīn ascended the throne, Maulānā Sirājuddīn Mundāshīr appeared before him, with halters round their necks. The matter was reported to the Sultān. He immediately ordered to free them; and took the Maulānā in his arms; conferred on him a robe of honour on him; fixed a pension for him; and ordered that he should from that time attend before the throne with other notables, and make his salutations. He also granted him a house in the Mundāshīr.

One day the Sultān said to Malkah-i-Jahān his wife: "When great officers and judges come to the gate of the *haram* to offer congratulations to you, tell them that they should request that they might be allowed to describe me in the *Khutbah* as a warrior of God." About that time the marriage of Qadr al-Dīn, the youngest son of the Sultān, with a daughter of Sultān Jalāluddīn, took place; and the great officers went to offer their congratulations. They approved of the message (which Malkah-i-Jahān apparently sent to them) and said that as the Sultān had bravely drawn his sword in the wars with the Mughals and had won with them, it was not only allowable, but even right and proper that he should be called "the warrior of God." When the officers and judges again went to congratulate the Sultān on the first day of the month, and were honoured by being allowed to kiss his hand, Kāzī Fakhruddīn Bāklah, who was the wisest and most learned man of the age, dissimulated his real opinion, and said to the Sultān by the mouth of some of the others,

who were present, that they should describe the Sultan as "the warrior of God." The Sultan said, "I, Malik-i-Jahán has asked you to suggest this, at my own request, but I thought over the matter at that very time, and came to the conclusion that I had not, at any time, waged war with the enemies of God, in His cause alone, without any admixture of a worldly object, and I repented myself of the intention which I had formed; and gave up the idea altogether."

At the time when Sultan Jaláluddín was the commander of the imperial forces, he conferred many favours on Amir Khusrú, made him the keeper of the kuráns; and specially honoured him by granting him the white robe and belt, which was reserved for the great nobles. The Sultan mixed in a friendly way with the persons who were invited to his drinking parties; and did not require any elaborate observances from them; and treated them almost as equals. His companions at the convivial were Malik Tajuddín Kúji, Malik Fakhruddín Kúji, Malik Ghúrí, Malik Kará Beg, Malik Nasrat Sabbáh, Malik Hab, Malik Kamáluddín Abul Ma'áli, Malik Násiruddín K and Malik Saíduddín Mantakí. These Malik were unusual at that time for the sweetness of their natures, the elegance of their manners, and their courage and manliness. Tajuddín, Amir Khusrú, Mír Hasan, Múed Jájaríní, Múed Dewánau, Arslan Kaláhi, Ikhtiár Bágh and Báki Khatib were in vogue among the courtiers; and each of these excelled in the composition of verses, and in the knowledge of history. The court of the Sultan was always adorned with sweet-voiced reciters of odes, like Kháshab and Hamíd Rájah, and charming cupbearers, like sons of Haibat Khán, and Nizám Kharitadár; and incomparable musicians, like Muhammad Shah Jangi and Battah Khán. Amir Khusrú used to present new odes at the court of the Sultan, and rewards and favours were conferred on him.

Among the strange occurrences of that period, was the case of Sidi Maulah. This matter may be briefly narrated in this way. A darwesh of the name of Sidi Maulah appeared in Delhi, and took up his quarters there. He opened the door of charity, and almsgiving on the face of the people. As he did not take anything from anybody, and he had no fixed parish or station,

He practise  
d put her  
He performe  
And he

to Loran,  
Alam Farid-ul-H  
God rest him! and he remaine  
time of bidding him farewell, the Sl  
or of the coming of Fingee an  
hanker not after

Coupl

thy heart oh mine  
ough  
ne will co. Ten 'twill a hun dred grana  
Mouah could not preserve himself.

And takes the ear of greed doth he ur;  
a word doth any impression make!  
de Ka'n-i-Khánán, the eldest son  
his powers and a son, and called  
also name Ka. alá Káshá, one of  
the and well-wisher. Some of the  
reign had no fi and no  
attendance and doing service





only on his arrival, he seized Jhāin, and looted the temples there; plundered much wealth, and carried off much booty. The Rajah of Ranthambhor shut himself up in the fort. The Sultan besieged the fort for a few days, and then returned. He said, "The capture of the fort does not deserve that one man should die for it."

*couplet.*

The empire of the world, by my manliness, I swear;  
Will not deserve that a drop of blood on the earth shall fall.

Granted that I seize the furt and put these creatures to God to be judged, to-morrow, when the widows and orphans of the slain and men will come to me, and my eyes will fall on them that have my condition; and will not the taste of the capture of the fort be bitter in my mouth than poison?

In the year 891 A.H. the Mughals of Chengiz Khan invaded Hindustan with a large army. The Sultan set out with the mighty imperial forces to meet them. When the armies approached each other, the Sultan was eager for action and engaged in several skirmishes. The Mughal leaders, recognizing the superiority of the Sultan's troops, commenced negotiations. The Sultan gave the name of son to a Mughal leader, who was a relation of Halaku Khan; and the Sultan called him father, and they met each other at a distance. Some gifts and presents were sent from both sides. The Mughal army then retraced its steps; but Alghu, the son of Chen Chān, and some Mughal noblemen joined the Sultan. They all became Moslems, and Alghu was honoured with the hand of one of the Sultan's daughters. Ghāspur was assigned to the Mughals as their residence, and its name was changed to Mandu. In the year, the Sultan marched against Mandu and

with the three Mughals and the three MSS. and Jhāin respectively. as that the "father" and the "son" did not have much to do with the story. The place referred to is difficult to say what place is referred to.

about the  
 addin, the nephew of the Sultan, begged that  
 he might be permitted to march against Bhishah and to ravage those  
 regions. He received the necessary orders, and went and ravaged  
 the country and brought much booty for the Sultan. Amongst the  
 spoils he brought two brass idols, which had been the object of the  
 worship of the Hindus of those parts: and cast them down in front  
 of the black-fur Gate to be trampled upon by the people. This  
 achievement of Malik 'Alauddin earned the commendation of the  
 Sultan, who raised him to a high rank; and conferred many royal  
 favours on him. He gave him the territory of Auh as an addi-  
 tional bel. When Malik 'Alauddin found the Sultan to be so  
 favourably inclined towards him, he submitted a representation  
 asking for permission to enlist additional troops, at the same  
 revenue of his army, so that he might, with the aid of the help of his  
 old and new warriors, invade the territory of Chanderi and the  
 vicinity, which contained an abundance of riches; and might bring  
 much booty, and at the same time, higher in the estimation of the Sultan.  
 The Sultan at once granted the request; and Malik 'Alauddin led his  
 army far and wide from Auh to Karah. He had a great success  
 and vexation at the hands of Malkah-i-Jahan, who was his  
 and could no longer bear his tyranny and oppression. He had  
 never been able to bring his troubles to the Sultan, as  
 as Malkah-i-Jahan had very great influence over the Sultan.  
 He had been thinking for some time that he would  
 go away to some place and live there, but he was  
 and the possession of the country. He lived  
 golden opportunity, he at once took advantage of it  
 completely armed and equipped his old and new troops  
 march, leaving Malik 'Alauddin, who was a spec-  
 as his deputy in Karah and Auh. He marched  
 but made a pretence of going to plunder and ra-  
 round Chanderi. He marched through Ellichpur  
 news from him for some days Malik 'Alauddin  
 Sultan, in order to satisfy the latter that Malik  
 engaged in plundering and ravaging the territory  
 and his petition containing the news of his  
 there in the course of a day or two.

this; as he had no knowledge of the trouble which Malik 'Alāuddīn had suffered at the hand of Malkah-i-Jahān. He was his nephew and son-in-law, and had besides been brought up by him from his youth. No suspicion of any perfidy from him, therefore, ever entered his mind. At that time Rām Deo, the ruler of Deogir, had gone away, with his son, to a distant place. When he heard that Malik 'Alāuddīn had entered the Deogir territory, he met him with a large force of Rāys and Rānas. Malik 'Alāuddīn routed that army; and conquered Deogir. In the end Rām Deo came and made his submission. Forty elephants and some thousands of horses from Rām Deo's palace stables fell into Malik 'Alāuddīn's hands; and so much booty was obtained, consisting of gold and silver, and gems and pearls, and various kinds of goods and fabrics, as was beyond the count and estimation of the intellect. As no news had been received of Malik 'Alāuddīn for a long time, the Sultān started towards Gwalior on an expedition of hunting and pleasure; and remained for some time in those parts. Even before the receipt of Malik 'Alāuddīn's memorial (notifying his victory), a rumour arose in the Sultān's army that he had conquered Deogir; and had obtained many elephants and horses, and an immense quantity of goods and riches; and was marching back towards Karah. The Sultān was pleased on hearing this news; but the wise men of the age, knowing that Malik 'Alāuddīn had undertaken such an enormous enterprise without the Sultān's permission; and had acquired so much wealth; and knowing also that he had such enmity with his haram (wife) and with Malkah-i-Jahān, could perceive by the eye of wisdom that he intended to rise and rebel against the Sultān, but they did not say this before the latter. One day the Sultān called a private meeting of his confidential advisers; and consulted with them. He asked them: "'Alāuddīn is coming from Deogir with all these horses and elephants and booty; what should I do? Should I remain where I am; or should I hasten to welcome him; or should I return to Dehli?" Malik Ahmed Hab, who was celebrated for his correct thinking and sound judgment, submitted that abundance of wealth, success in one's undertakings and the accomplishment of one's desires became the cause of pride and rebellion; and made a man, however intelligent and wise he might be, drunk and mad. "The cheats and deluders of Karah," said he,

“ who carried Malik Jhaju off from the path of loyalty, are now all assembled round him; and they incited him to go to Deogír without the Sultán's orders. Who knows what he has in his heart? It would be wisest for the Sultán to go with all speed to Chanderi, so that he might arrive there before Malik 'Aláuddin. When the latter hears that the Sultán is so near; he will not be able to complete his arrangements, and will be forced to come and pay his homage to the Sultán, and place the booty before the throne, either willingly or otherwise. The Sultán should take his elephants, and goods and all his treasures, which might be the cause of his violence, from him; and should take them to Dehli. If the Sultán considers this an insignificant matter and marches to Dehli without taking the proper measures; and if Malik 'Aláuddin goes to Karah with so many elephants and horses, and such an immense quantity of treasure, which are the basis of greatness and empire, and there places all his arrangements on a right footing, the Sultán will have, in a manner, endeavoured to bring about his own destruction, and the ruin and desolation of his house.

*Couplet.*

He bringeth joy, and gladness, to the hearts of his foes,  
Who listeneth not to the words of his true and loyal friends."

The words of Malik Ahmad Hab did not commend themselves to Sultán Jaláuddin. He said, " Malik 'Aláuddin is like my son, he has been brought up by me; he will certainly not turn his face from me; and will never do anything which would be contrary to my wishes." Then he turned his face to those who were in the assembly and said, " What do you all advise in the matter? " Malik Fakhruddin Kújí, who, although he knew that the advice given by Malik Ahmad Hab was sound, still seeing that the Sultán was opposed to it, concealed his real opinion and said, " The news of the return of Malik 'Aláuddin, and of his having brought much booty, has not yet been confirmed either by his petition or by the testimony of trustworthy persons, in such a way that we may place any reliance or base any reasoning on it. Supposing that the news turns out to be true, and we advance with our troops against him, and go and stand before him; as he went away without orders

not unlikely that a dread will overwhelm his mind, and he will turn back from the place where he may have arrived; and will rush blindly away in some direction; and we will have to follow him, and that in the rainy season, which is near at hand; and we will have to go wherever he may have gone. It is a well-known proverb 'that one should not take off his stockings before one comes to the water.' And supposing again that Malik 'Aláuddín arrives in safety at Karah with his elephants and treasures and goods; and it becomes clear that a malicious and evil design has entered his head; may he not be easily disposed of by one assault of his Majesty's forces." Malik Ahmad Hab said, "If Malik 'Aláuddín arrives in safety at Karah with the elephants and treasure, and crossing the Sarayu goes toward Lakhnauti, no one will then be able to do anything against him.

*Couplet.*

Do not thy enemy as insignificant despise !  
For I have seen a small rock a mountain huge become !

The Sultán became angry on hearing this; and said, "Malik Ahmad Hab has always had an evil opinion of Malik 'Aláuddín. I have cradled the latter in my arms; and have made him my son. It is possible that one of my sons should turn against me; but that he should turn away his face from me, that is absolutely impossible." Malik Ahmad Hab rose from his seat in the council, and made his lamentation, and recited this couplet.

*Couplet.*

When fate its dark face on a man doth turn,  
No one can help and succour him at all.

The Sultán praised Malik Fakhruddín's wisdom; and returned to Dehli. Immediately after that the news of the arrival of Malik 'Aláuddín at Karah came; and his petition also arrived. In it he stated: "I have brought, as the booty obtained in the expedition, thirty-one elephants, a number of horses, and quantities of gold and gems and pearls, and all kinds of goods and fabrics; and I wish to bring everything to your presence; but as I have been absent for a long time, and as I set out on this expedition without

your orders, a fancy has found its way into my mind, and into the minds of all your servants who were with me. If a farmán is issued which will give me and my companions some assurance of our safety, we would present ourselves at your gate without any anxiety about ourselves.' He deceived Sultán Jaláluddín by such stories ; and at the same time made preparations for an expedition to Lakhnauti. He sent Zafar Khán to Audh, with orders to collect boats in the Sarayu ; and he settled with his officers and ministers, that as soon as they would hear that Sultán Jaláluddín had started from Dehli, in the direction of Karah, they would cross the Sarayu, and enter the Lakhnauti country, and bring it under subjection and rule there. Sultán Jaláluddín wrote an affectionate letter to him with his own hand, assuring him and his companions of complete safety, and sent it by the hand of two men who were in his confidence. When these men reached Karah, they found that Malik 'Aláuddín had become altogether hostile to the Sultán ; and he had also estranged all the Amírs who were there from the latter ; but Malik 'Aláuddín kept such a strict watch on them, that they were unable to represent the true state of things to the Sultán.

When some time had elapsed after this, Malik 'Aláuddín wrote a letter to his brother, Almás Beg, who was also the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultán, in which he stated, that as he had undertaken such an expedition without the permission of the Sultán, men of experience in worldly affairs had implanted a fear in his mind. But as he was the son as well as the slave of the Sultán, if the latter would come alone, by rapid marches, and would seize him by the hand, and take him to Dehli, he would gladly render service and homage ; but if the Sultán would not do this, he would take poison, and destroy himself, or would wander away and be lost. Almás Beg submitted the letter for the perusal of the Sultán. The latter bade him go quickly and comfort Malik 'Aláuddín ; and said that he would soon follow him. Almás Beg immediately got into a boat, and set out as swiftly as wind on water. On the seventh day he arrived at the place where Malik 'Aláuddín was. The latter rejoiced greatly and was happy at the arrival of his brother. He now determined finally upon his expedition to Lakhnauti ; but those who were in his confidence, and were intimate with him, said that it would not be necessary for them to go to Lakhnauti, as

Sultán Jaláluddín, unable to resist his desire for the elephants and the riches, would come to them that very rainy season. They would then be able to make away with him there, and would then set about their work of conquest and empire. This view appeared sound and just to Malik 'Aláuddín. As death was now so near Malik Jaláluddín, he did not listen to the words of his sincere well-wishers, but set out in boats, with some of his special attendants, and a thousand horsemen. At the same time he sent Ahmad Hab with the army, and all the regal paraphernalia, by land.

*Couplet.*

When one to advice of friend will not attend,  
The gods above will penalty award.

When the Sultán arrived at Karah on the 7th Ramazán, Malik 'Aláuddín had already fully equipped his army and had crossed the Ganges; and encamped between Karah and Mánikpur. On hearing the news of the arrival of the Sultán, he sent his brother Almás Beg to attend on him; and instructed him that he should try, by every deception he could think of, to effect a separation between the Sultán and his army; and to bring the former alone. Almás Beg presented himself before the Sultán; and performed the ceremony of kissing the dust, and submitted. "If I had not, in accordance with the orders of the lord of the world, come at once, and had not comforted my brother, he would by this time have wandered away to some unknown place. In spite of my assurances, however, there is still some fear in his heart; and if he sees your majesty, with so many armed horsemen, there is some likelihood that he would again become a prey to fresh hallucinations, and would again attempt to run away." The Sultán, believing his statement to be true, ordered that the horsemen who were with him should halt where they were. He himself, with his personal attendants, went on ahead. When he had gone a part of the way that arch-deceiver, Almás Beg, loosened his lying tongue, and said, 'My brother is now near at hand. If he sees these men, who are with your majesty, armed and ready for any emergency, it is quite likely that, owing to the fancy and fear which have overwhelmed his mind, he may become despondent about your mercy and love.' Then according



to the Sultán's orders, all his attendants threw down their weapons. When they approached the Ganges, those who were near the Sultán saw from a distance that the army of 'Aláuddín was standing, ready armed and equipped, and awaiting as it were for an opportunity. They became sure about the treachery and perfidy of 'Aláuddín; and knew what Almás Beg was about. Malik Khurram the Vakildar said to Almás Beg: "We believed your words and separated ourselves from our troops and divested ourselves of our arms. Your army appears armed and ready for battle." Almás Beg said: "My brother wants to parade his army in battle-array, and ready equipped and armed, before the Sultán, and review it." The Sultán, in accordance with the saying that, when fate overtakes one, it makes him blind, did not think of their perfidy and treason, although it was manifest to young and old; and he even said to Almás Beg, "I have come, while fasting, all this way to see 'Aláuddín, and he feels no pity for me, but sits in comfort in his boat and does not hasten forward to welcome me." The arch-deceiver, Almás Beg, said in reply: "My brother does not intend to meet your Majesty with an empty hand; he wishes to render you homage with the articles of his tribute, such as elephants and various beautiful things. He has also arranged everything for your breaking your fast, and wishes that your Majesty should do so in his house, so that he may be raised above his comrades and equals by that honour. No thought of their perfidy passed through Sultán Jaláluddín's mind, and he sat carelessly in the boat, reading the Kurán, till the afternoon of the 17th Ramázán, when he reached the bank of the river. 'Aláuddín then came forward; and rendered homage; and fell at the Sultán's feet. The latter stroked his cheek, as a token of his love and affection; and otherwise showed his kindness towards him. He said, "I have reared thee up with so much care; and have made thee great; and always in my eyes thou hast been dearer to me than my sons. How could I now think of doing thee an injury?" He said this, and holding 'Aláuddín's hand pulled him towards the boat. At this time, Malik 'Aláuddín made a sign to the men, who had been selected by him, and entrusted with the assassination of the Sultán. Mahmud Sálim, who was one of the baser people of Sáimánah, wounded the Sultán with his sword. The latter, on receiving the wound, ran towards his boat; and

cried out : " Oh ! wretched 'Aláuddín, what hast thou done ? " Ikhtíáruddín Húr who had received many favours at the hands of the Sultán came from behind ; and threw the Sultán down on the ground ; and having cut off his head, took it to 'Aláuddín. They then took the head of the poor murdered king, round Karah and Mánikpur, on a lance ; and then took it to Audh. The special attendants of the Sultán, who were in the boat, were also murdered. It has been handed down by a trustworthy tradition, that just before the time when Sultán Jaláluddín came to Karah, Malik 'Aláuddín went to pay his respects to Sheikh Kurk Majzub (the absorbed), who is buried in the town of Karah ; and performed service like a supplicant. The " absorbed " lifted up his head and said :

*Couplet.*

" Whoever doth with thee wage war ;  
His head in the boat, his body in Gang ' "

In short they raised the canopy of Sultán Jaláluddín over the head of Malik 'Aláuddín and proclaimed him emperor. But the people who were associated with him in the assassination of Sultán Jaláluddín were overtaken in a short time by great calamities, and fell into the lowest depths of misery. Mahmud, the son of Sálím, became afflicted with leprosy after a year ; and his limbs shrivelled up and fell into pieces. Ikhtíaruddín Húr became mad and in his agony yelled out, and screamed, " Sultán Jaláluddín has a sword in his hand ; and is cutting off my head ! " The ungrateful Malik 'Aláuddín, himself, although for a time he reigned with prosperity, and did whatever he wished to do, yet in the end Providence did not fail to mete out to him his just punishment ; and avenged itself on him ; and neither the name nor any vestige of his descendants remained in the world !

*Couplets.*

The mansions of creation are not at random ranged ;  
The earth, and all the sky, are not without a Ruler Great !  
Bethink ! Oh thou with wisdom blest ! how time doth ever  
work,  
That what thou dost will ever meet with its recompense due.

When the news of the martyrdom of Sultān Jalāluddīn reached Malik Ahmad Hab, who was the commander of the army, he turned back from the place where he was and went to Dehli. Malkah-i-Jahān the *haram* (wife) of the Sultān, owing to her foolishness, placed her youngest son, Rukuuddīn Ibrāhīm, who was in his first youth, and had not yet reached man's estate, and had no experience of rule and government, in great haste on the throne, without consulting the great nobles. She left Kilukhari, and came to Dehli, and took up her quarters in the Green Kiosk, and distributed the various high offices, and the great fiefs, among the Amirs and Maliks. Arkali Khān, who was the true son and successor of the Sultān, and possessed kinglike accomplishments, was afflicted in heart on hearing this news. He remained at Multan and did not come to Dehli. Malik 'Alauddīn marched towards Dehli in the very heart of the rainy season, and reached the bank of the Jumna by successive marches. He so enamoured the hearts of the people with his gold and riches, that every one became favourably inclined towards him; and the hostility which had taken possession of their hearts on account of the assassination of Sultān Jalāluddīn became completely obliterated. They say—

*Couplet.*

Liberality is alchemy, for the copper of vice :  
Liberality panacea is, for evils all.

Every day Malik 'Alauddīn filled a ballista with gold, and scattered it among his soldiery. Every one who entered his service received twenty or thirty for every ten (coins) of the current wages of the time. In this way he captured the hearts of the people.

*Couplet.*

If thou dost want to greatness to attain, make generous thy heart.<sup>1</sup>

It is related that when he arrived at Badā'un, he mustered his troops; and they came to sixty thousand horsemen and footsoldiers.

<sup>1</sup> The second line is given in the lith. ed. as سر کیسه بد بند کند نابند and in the three MSS. as سر کیسه بد برگ کند نابند. In either case I can not make any sense.

The Jalāli Amīrs and Maliks came from all sides, and joined 'Alāuddīn, being allured by his gold and the high salaries which he offered. Malkah-i-Jahān, after her hopes had been ruined, summoned Arkali Khān; but he sent word that things had now gone too far for any remedy.

*Couplet.*

A spring, at its start, with a bodkin can be easily stopped !  
When once it is full, on an elephant you can scarcely cross !

Malik 'Alāuddīn became strengthened in his resolution on hearing this news, and crossed the Jumna at the ferry of Kath and encamped on the plain of Jūd. Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm also arrayed his troops in front of him; and then made a feint of retiring. At night most of the Jalāli Amīrs deserted him, and joined Malik 'Alāuddīn. When the former found that matters had passed beyond remedy, he took his mother, and Malik Rajab and Kutbuddīn 'Ului, and Ahmad Hab and a few others who yet remained true to their salt, and took the road to Multan.

The period of Sultān Jalāluddīn's rule was seven years and some months.

### SULTAN 'ALĀUDDIN KHALJI.

He ascended the throne at Dehli in the year 695 A.H. He conferred the title of Ulugh Khān on his brother Almās Beg, that of Nasrat Khān on Malik Nasrat Jalesari, that of Zafar Khān on Malik Hazabruddīn, and that of Ali Khān on Sanjar, his brother-in-law, who was the President of his Council. He raised such of his friends as were not Amīrs already, to that rank; and he conferred higher ranks and larger fiefs on those who were. He gave large sums of money to his officers and commanders, so that they might enlist new soldiers. His army thus became a very large one. When he encamped with his army on the plain of Sirī, the high and the low of the capital came to render him homage, and to offer their congratulations. Prayers were read and coins struck in his name, and the other royal ceremonies were duly performed. Malik 'Alāuddīn entered the city with regal pomp and splendour; and sat on the imperial throne; and assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāuddīn. From that place he went to the ruby Kiosk and made that the seat

of his empire. The citizens had feasts, and erected ornamental domes; and the lanes flowed with wine; and people took to sports and pleasure. Owing to the pride of wealth and the intoxication of youth, Sultān 'Alauddin was lavish in dissipations and pleasures; and he made the people loyal, and attached them to his throne, by his great largesses and gifts. He honoured every one with a post and a title; and distributed the parganas and provinces (among the nobles). Khwājah Khatir, who was famous for his personal virtues and accomplishments, was honoured with the appointment of Vazir. Kāzi Sadruddin 'Arif, who had the title of *Sadr-i-Jahān*, became the chief Kāzi of the empire, and the titles of *Sayyad Ajall* (the most glorious Sayyad) and the *Sheikh-ul-islam* (the chief priest) were conferred on him. The post of *Khatib* (preacher) was confirmed to the former *Sayyad Ajall* who had been both *Khatib* and *Sheikh-ul-islām*. The office of *inshā* (correspondence) was entrusted to 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Hamiduddin; and Malik 'Izzuddin, who was adorned with physical and spiritual excellence, was specially honoured by being placed near the Sultān's person. Nasrat Khān, who had been the deputy of the empire, was made the *kotwal* (superintendent), and Malik Fakhruddin Kūji was appointed the *dārogha* (inspector) of the capital. Zafar Khan was appointed to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces; Malik Abāji Jalāli received the post of the *Tājirbegi* (Minister of Commerce) and Malik Huran bar that of Naib Barbegi (Deputy Master of Ceremonies). Malik Alā-ul-mulk, the uncle of Zia Burni, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhi*, was entrusted with the sieges of Karah and Audh. The post of the Deputy Vakil-dar (deputy representative in the Council) was conferred on Malik Junāi Qadīm, and that of the naib (deputy) and Khwājah (superintendent) of the city of Baran on Mued-ul-Mulk, the father of the aforementioned Zia. All properties and trusts were confirmed to deserving people, and other stipends were granted to them, in the way of maintenance allowances. The whole of the troops were made happy that year, with a grant of six months' pay in addition to their usual allowances. Ease and happiness made their appearance among all classes of people, and the great crime of the assassination of Sultān Jalāluddin was concealed from the eyes, and obliterated from the minds, of the people.

After Sultān 'Alāuddīn had become firmly established on the throne of Dehli, he in consideration of the maxim—

*Couplet.*

While the head of the claimant on his shoulder stands,  
The kingdom wears rebellion as a garb

considered that the destruction of the sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, who were at Multān, was the one affair which most urgently demanded his attention. He accordingly nominated Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān with forty thousand horsemen for this duty. They marched accordingly and besieged the town. After two months the Kotwāl of Multān and the other nobles who were there, deserted Arkali Khān and his brothers, and coming outside the town, had interviews with Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān. The Sultān's sons, in great distress, then came to Ulugh Khān, after obtaining assurances of safety through Shaikh Ruknuddīn (may God make his grave holy!). Ulugh Khān received them with all honour; and allotted places for them near his own pavilion; and sent a letter, announcing his victory, to Dehli. They read the letter from the pulpits, and erected domes, and struck the drum of joy. Then Ulugh Khān returned towards Dehli, with the sons of Sultān Jalāluddīn, and the Amīrs and Maliks who had been on their side. On the way, Nasrat Khān, who was deputed for the purpose, from Dehli, met Ulugh Khān; and drew the pencil (for blinding them) over the eyes of Sultān Jalāluddīn's sons, of Alghu, his son-in-law, and of Malik Ahmad Hab, the *naib Amīr Hājib* (Deputy Lord Chamberlain); and took possession of their wealth, and their retinues. The two hapless princes were kept imprisoned at Hūnsī; and the two sons of Arkali Khān were martyred; and Ahmad Hab, and the wives of Sultān Jalāluddīn, and those of his sons, were brought to Dehli, and imprisoned there.

In the second year after the accession, Nasrat Khān was appointed Vazīr; and Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk was summoned from Karah, to come with the nobles and the treasure, which were there, and the post of the Kotwāl of Dehli, which had been held by the Malik-ul-Umra, was entrusted to him. Nasrat Khān then commenced to resume the estates, which the Sultān had at the time

of his accession, for the sake of expediency, distributed among the Jalālī Amīrs; and, by this means, brought an enormous sum into the Treasury.

The same year the Mughal armies crossed the river Sind, and entered Hindustān. Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān, with other nobles, to attack them. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Jārmahmūr.<sup>1</sup> In the battle which ensued, the Mughals were defeated and large numbers of them were slain, and a number taken captive. When the news of the victory reached Dehli, the citizens struck the drum of joy, and erected domes, and had festive gatherings. After this, all the Jalālī Amīrs, who had treacherously deserted their former master, and had joined Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and had received from the latter high posts and great fiefs, were seized; some of them were blinded; and a few were imprisoned in distant parts, and their goods and estates were brought into the treasury, and their houses and families were ruined. Of all the Jalālī nobles, Malik Kutubuddīn 'Alai, Malik Nasīruddīn, Shahnāh-i-Pīl (the keeper of the elephants), and Malik Amīr Jamāl, the father of Kadr Khān, who had never turned their faces from the sons of the Sultān, and had never taken anything from Sultān 'Alāuddīn, remained in safety, and did not receive any injury. By means of the above-mentioned forfeitures, Nasrat Khān realized a *karor* in the course of the year; and paid the amount into the Treasury.

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جَار مِيخُور in the lith. ed. and جَار نَمُور and جَار نَمُور in the MSS. In the printed edition of the *Tārīkh Firozshahi* of Zia Barni (as translated in Elliot's history) the name is Jālandhar, but in the MSS. Jādwa o Manjūr and Jurat Mahud (see Elliot, vol. iii, p. 162). In a note, by Mr. T. W. Tolbert, I.C.S., to a translation of portions of the *Tārīkh-i-Firozshahi* by Major Fuller (see Journ. A.S.B., pp. 43, etc.) containing a synopsis of the Mughal invasions, which took place in the reign of 'Alāuddīn, according to (1) Zia-i-Barni, (2) Nizāmuddīn Ahmad Harawi, (3) Badāoni, and (4) Ferishtaḥ, the scene of this battle is given as Jari Manjūr according to (1), Jāran Majhur in Sind according to (2), Jāran Manjūr according to (3), and Lahore according to (4). There is nothing about Jāran Majhur being in Sind in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*; but in one of the MSS. the Mughals are said to have invaded Sind on this occasion; while in the lith. ed. and in the other MSS. the word is Hind and not Sind. Ferishtaḥ calls the Mughal commander Amīr Daud, though none of the previous historians had so named him.

In the third year after the accession, the Sultān sent Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān, with large armies, to invade Gujrāt. They ravaged and plundered Nahrwālah, and all the cities of the province. Rāy Karan, the governor of Nahrwālah, fled, and joined the ruler of Deogir in the Dakin; and his wives and daughter (who was named Devalrāni) with his treasures, and elephants, and all he had, fell into the hands of the army. Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān also brought the idol, which the Brāhmans of Somnāth had set up, and were worshipping, in place of the one which Sultān Mahmūd had broken to pieces, to Delhi, and placed it where the people would trample upon it. Nasrat Khān also went to Kambāyat and took from the merchants, who resided there, and had much wealth, such quantities of riches, and gems, and other beautiful things, as were beyond all calculation. He also obtained, by violence from his master, Kāfūr Hazārdinārī (whom Sultān 'Alāuddīn, on account of the attachment which he formed for him, afterwards made the Nāib-i-Mulk, i.e., deputy governor of the kingdom), and sent him to the Sultān. When Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān, after plundering and ravaging Gujrāt, were returning with an enormous quantity of booty, they demanded and exacted with great rigour and violence from the soldiery, the fifth part of the booty taken by them, and carried their exactions beyond all bounds. Some of the Amīrs, who were called the Neo-moslems, joined with others, who had also suffered much on account of the exactions; and attacked Malik 'Izzuddīn (the brother of Nasrat Khān), who was the Amīr-i-Hājib of Ulugh Khān; and after murdering him, entered the pavilion of Ulugh Khān. The latter got out by another door, and took shelter in the pavilion of Nasrat Khān. The nephew (sister's son) of Sultān 'Alāuddīn was sleeping in the pavilion. The hostile Amīrs, thinking that he was Ulugh Khān, killed him. Nasrat Khān then called to gather his men quickly, and attacked them; and they dispersed in different directions. Ulugh Khān and Nasrat Khān abandoned further enquiry about the booty, and went with the riches, the elephants, and the various kinds of goods, which they had obtained, to Delhi. Sultān 'Alāuddīn had the wives and the children of the nobles, who had taken part in the disturbance, seized, and inflicted various punishments on them. Nasrat Khān, in revenge for the murder of his brother, made over the women of the families of the



persons who had caused the murder, to some sweepers, and he ordered that the infants should be brutally murdered, by being hurled against the women. Before this it had not been the custom in Dehli to punish women and children for the offences of their relatives.

This year, a Mughal of the name of Saldi<sup>1</sup> and his brother came, and took possession of Siwistān. Zafar Khān was sent with a large army against them; and this victorious general besieged Siwistān; and in a short time conquered it, and sent Saldi, and his brother, and their families and children, and the other Mughals, who were with them, with collars round their necks, to Dehli. At the end of the same year, Kutlagh Khwājah, and his son, with a few thousand Mughals came from Mawara-un-Nahr to conquer Hindustan. They crossed the Indus; and as they came to conquer the country, they did not commit any injury or depredation on the villages and towns which fell on their route, as they considered them to be part and parcel of their kingdom. They encamped in front of Dehli, and commenced a siege. As an immense number of people, from the different towns and places, in the neighbourhood came into the city, for fear of the Mughals, the place was so crowded that there was no space for standing or sitting in the mosques, and lanes, and markets, and in various quarters of the city. The people were in great distress owing to the overcrowding, and the roads for importing grain and provisions were closed; and everything became dear. Sultān 'Alāuddīn summoned the Amīrs and Malīks from the different parts of the empire, and having reinforced and equipped the army, came out of the city with regal pomp and splendour; and encamped in Sirī, and left Malīk Ala-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Dehli, behind, for the protection of the city and the treasures and for watching the *haram* (the apartments for the ladies of the palace). It is said that some of the Amīrs represented (to the Sultān) that war was always attended with danger, and that a stick had two ends (i.e. it might hit either party); attempts should therefore be made, as long as

<sup>1</sup> Zīā-i-Barnī describes (see Elliot, vol. iii, p. 165) how Saldi took the fort of Siwistān, and how Zafar Khān again took it from him. Badā'uni does not mention this invasion of the Mughals. Ferishta calls the Mughal commander Chaldi Khān.

possible, to remedy matters by stratagems, and a battle should be avoided.

*Couplet.*

Though thou may'st have an elephant's strength and a lion's claws,

Peace, Oh my friend ! is always better far than war !

Sultān 'Alāuddīn said, " Empire, and abstention from war, cannot go together."

*Couplet*

He who the Emperor's crown doth wear,

His head, like a gage, doth ever throw !

" It is not becoming, also," he said, " that a king should take shelter in a fort." He made preparations for a battle and raised the standard of conflict. Kutlagh Khwājah, on his side, also laid the foundations for a struggle, and displayed great manliness and bravery. Zafar Khān, who commanded the right wing, attacked the Mughal army, threw it into confusion, and routed it ; and the Mughals fled. Zafar Khān pursued them a distance of eighteen *karohs*. Ulugh Khān, who commanded the left wing, did not, on account of a grudge<sup>1</sup> which he bore him, join in the pursuit ; but let him go on alone. Suddenly some of the Mughal nobles, who were lying in ambush on the way, saw that Zafar Khān had gone on alone and there were no troops, behind him, to support him. They came upon him from behind, and surrounding him from all sides, hamstrung his horse. He then fought bravely on foot. Although Kutlagh Khwājah attempted to take him captive, he could not do it. At last he ordered that his men should shower arrows on him ; and thus they martyred him. They also slew the other Amīrs who were in his detachment. Kutlagh Khwājah did not that day draw rein till he had covered thirty *karohs*, for fear of the prowess of the

<sup>1</sup> Zīl-i-Barnī (see Elliot, vol. iii. p. 165) says, that it was Zafar Khān's bravery, in conquering Siwistan from the Mughals, which made both the Sultān and Ulugh Khān jealous and afraid of him. 'Alāuddīn was thinking how he could get rid of him ; one of his plans was to send him to Lakhnauti, where he might be left, to send elephants and tribute to the Sultān ; while another was to put him out of the way by poison or by blinding.

Hindustanis; and went back to his own country with all speed. The name of Zafar Khān became proverbial among the Mughals for bravery and for putting an army into combat; so that if a horse showed any disinclination to drink the water, they would say "perhaps it has seen Zafar Khān." Sultan 'Alāuddīn, who both envied and feared the courage and prowess of Zafar Khān, deemed his martyrdom a second victory; and went back to Dehli from Kili and made rejoicings, and had festive gatherings; and gave himself up to pleasures and enjoyments.

As during these three years most of his undertakings had ended in accordance with his wishes, and to his having many wives he had many children, and there was no rival claimant left to the throne, he felt a desire for performing wonderful feats and exploits. Among these one was this, that as the holy Prophet, may the blessing and peace of God be on him! had by his own strength and greatness produced the Law, and had perfected and confirmed it by the help of his companions, so he with the strength and energy of his four friends, viz. Ulugh Khān, Nasrat Khān, Zafar Khān<sup>1</sup> and Alp Khān, should establish a new Religion and Law, so that his name might remain on the page of time till the day of judgment. In his drinking parties, and private conferences, he talked on this subject with the Amirs and Maliks, and asked them in what way, and by what means, he should discover the new religion, which should, even after his death, be current, and be held in honour among the nations of the world. A second insane project, which the spectacle of his wealth, and treasures, and armies, and such things produced in his mind, was this, that he should entrust (the government of) Dehli to one of his trusted adherents; and should himself engage, like a second Alexander of Rūm, in the conquest of the countries comprised in the inhabited quarter of the world; and he ordered that he should be called the second Alexander, in the public prayers, and the same title should, also, be imprinted on the coins. His courtiers and the companions in his festive gatherings, knowing by experience how rough and stern he was in his temperament, professed

<sup>1</sup> Zafar Khān was still alive, as is expressly mentioned by Zia-i-Barni. (See Elliot, vol. iii, p. 171).

to acknowledge the truth of his absurd statements, and lauded him for his lofty spirit, and his high-soaring ambition. Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, the Kotwal of Dehli, on account of the fact that he was very fat, went to salute him only on the 1st of each month, and used to join in his drinking parties.

On one of these occasions, when, following his usual custom, he went to the Sultān, and joined the party, Sultān 'Alāuddīn asked his advice about these two projects. 'Ala-ul-Mulk having introduced his observations by well-weighed words, and delightful anecdotes, impressed it on the Sultān's mind, by arguments based on reason and history, that it would be best to abandon the idea of founding a Law; as the result of such an attempt would be the ruin of his rule and empire.

*Couplet.*

As far as I can judge, he thy well-wisher is !  
Who says to thee ' Yonder a thorn is in thy path.'

Sultān 'Alāuddīn after much thought, and deliberate cogitation, said : " What thou hast said is all just ; and in accordance with the real truth of the matter ! It would be better that, after this, such words should not fall from my lips. But as regards my second project, what dost thou say ? Is that also a mistake, or is it right ? " Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk said : " This project of the Sultān testifies to his noble spirit. Former monarchs have also undertaken such conquests. The lord of the world can certainly bring the countries, comprised in the inhabited quarter of the world, under subjection to him, by his own bravery and prowess, and by the power of his armies and his treasures ; but when he will leave Dehli, and go into strange countries, and remain there for a long time, who is there who can act as regent in his absence ? Again, after that, when he returns to Dehli, or goes to some other country, no one can say that he will find those, whom he should have left behind, in the newly-conquered realms, still faithful to him, and those countries still under his sway. For these times are not to be compared to those of Alexander ; as in those earlier times, fraud and perfidy and breach of engagements were less common. The men of that period, since when ages have elapsed, when they entered

into an engagement, did not break it, either on account of the distance of place, or of the efflux of time. Besides Alexander<sup>1</sup> had a Vazir-like Aristotle, who had made the common people, as well as the great men of Rūm, in spite of its great extent, all contented with and full of trust in him, without the aid of any army or treasures. Owing to his sound judgment, and great wisdom, the conquest of other countries was easy to his master; and during the period of the latter's absence, which extended to two and thirty years, there was no kind of calamity in the country of Rūm, owing to the wise policy of that philosopher. When Alexander, after completing the conquest of the world, returned to the country of Rūm, he found the inhabitants all loyal and devoted to him. If the Sultān can repose the same trust in his Amīrs and rayyats as Alexander did, this undertaking, the idea of which has entered his mind, is quite right and advisable; and not to attempt it would be contrary to sound policy." Sultān 'Alāuddīn, after careful consideration, said to 'Alā-ul-Mulk: "If I attend to these considerations which thou hast urged, and make no attempt to conquer the world, but content myself with the kingdom of Dehli, then of what use are my army and my treasures; and what advantage do I derive from them; and how should I obtain the name of a conqueror of the world, except which I have no other object?" Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk kissed the ground of service, and said in reply: "The Sultān has two such tasks, at present, before him, that if he should employ the whole of his army and treasures in carrying them out, they would barely suffice. The first of these is the conquest of certain cities in India, such as Rantambor and Chitor, and Chanderi and Malwa, and to the east as far as the river of Audh or the Sarayu, and the Siwalik as far as the Arabian Sea. If these countries which are the refuge of refractory people and the asylum of robbers come under your rule, the whole of the plains of Hindustan will become free from all disturbances, and danger. The second task is the closing of the door against the Mughals. The forts which are situated along the path of the Mughals, such as Dibālpur, Multān and Sāmānah, should be strengthened and completely

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<sup>1</sup> This is a rather curious and original version of the history of Alexander the Great.

equipped. After these two tasks would have been accomplished, it would be possible for the Sultān to rest in his capital of Dehli with a calm mind, and to send his loyal servants, with well-equipped armies, in various directions, so that they may bring distant countries under his sway, and in this way the name of your majesty as a conqueror, and your fame as a mighty ruler, may be blown about the universe; but this is possible only if the Sultān refrains from excessive drinking and continual hunting and constant immersion in pleasures." When Sultān 'Alāuddīn heard the remarks quoted above, he praised and belauded the sagacity of the advice, and the beauty of the policy, and bestowed on Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk a gold-embroidered robe<sup>1</sup> which had the figures of lions worked in it, and a valuable belt, and ten thousand tangahs and two steeds with jewelled saddles and bridles, and two villages, as a reward; and the other nobles, who were in the Council, were delighted with the observations, and every one of them sent him a few thousand tangahs and two horses, and they all praised his wisdom.

As Rantambor was close to Dehli, and Hamir Deo, the grandson<sup>2</sup> of Pithora, ruled there with great power, Sultān 'Alāuddīn determined to conquer it first. He summoned Ulugh Khān from Sāmānah; and nominated him for the command of the army; and ordered Nasrat Khān, feudatory of Karah, to accompany him. They went and seized Jhāin, and besieged the citadel of Rantambor and made every effort to capture it. Suddenly a stone, hurled from inside the fort, struck Nasrat Khān, and slew him. When Sultān 'Alāuddīn heard this he started for Rantambor. On arrival at Tahlit<sup>3</sup> he halted there for a few days, and every day he went to the neighbouring plains to hunt.<sup>4</sup> One day he went, according to

<sup>1</sup> According to Zia-i-Barni (Elliot, vol. iii, p. 171) the gold waistband weighed half a man.

<sup>2</sup> Hamir Deo could not have been the grandson of Pithora, who was killed in 1192 A.D., one hundred and seven years before the present invasion of Rantambor. Nabab, the word used to express the relationship, probably means only a descendant.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the place is given as Tahlati in the lith. ed.: but in the MSS. it appears to be Tahlit. It is called Tilpat in Elliot's History (iii, p. 172).

<sup>4</sup> The words used appear to be Shikar Kamargah. I can't find what Kamargah means, but Kamargah means hunting in a closed ring which is formed for kings and other great men to enjoy the chase therein. In Elliot's

his custom, to hunt, but it became late, and he could not reach his camp, and remained outside. The next day he ordered the men to make the ring; and he with a few others went to a secluded place and sat down on a hillock; so that when every thing should be ready, he might begin the hunt. By chance Ākat Khān, who was his nephew, and held the post of Vakildar, came to the place with a few neo-Moslem horsemen, who were his old retainers, and attacked him. As they shot arrows at him, he fell down from the mound to the lower ground, and sheltered himself behind the mound. He however received two wounds, from the arrows, on his arm. Ākat Khān wanted to dismount, and cut off the Sultān's head; but the band of Pāiks who were round the Sultān, ran forward and putting on the garb of acquiescence and homage, assured him that the Sultān was already dead. Ākat Khān accepted their word, and went in all haste to the camp. He rode to the royal pavilion and sat on the throne. He shouted that he had slain the Sultān. The people believed that he was telling the truth. Every one went to his own post and station, and stood near him. Every one congratulated him, and rendered him homage. The heralds made proclamations, the readers recited the Kurān, and the musicians sang. Ākat Khān, who was young and mean spirited, wanted immediately to go into the haram (the apartments of the ladies). Malik Dinār, the keeper of the haram, who was seated at the door of the haram, with his men ready and armed, did not let him do so. He said, "I will not let thee enter the haram till thou showest me the Sultān's head." When Sultān 'Alāuddīn recovered his senses, he bound up his wounds, and knew that Ākat Khān had acted in concert with some of the Amirs. He wanted to go to Ulugh Khān at Jhāin with the fifty or sixty men with him, and do whatever might be right or proper in concert with him. Malik Hamīduddīn, who was the son of the Umdat-ul-mulk and was himself the naib vakildar and one of the wisest men of the age, asked the Sultān to desist from going to Jhāin, and advised him to go at once to his pavilion. He said, "Ākat Khān has not yet established himself on a firm footing. As soon as

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translation of Zia-i-Barni (iii, p. 172) it is called a Margāh. Shikār Kamargāh is however mentioned in the Akbarnamah.

the soldiery will see the royal canopy, they would flock to it; and Ākat Khān's assembly would break up in confusion; but if there is any delay, it would be difficult to remedy this mischief." The Sultān mounted immediately, and hastened towards his pavilion; every trooper, who saw him on the way, joined him; and by the time he reached the pavilion, about five hundred men had gathered round him. When he got near the camp, he mounted a hillock; and showed himself. Ākat Khān's assembly broke up in confusion, and every one ran towards the Sultān. Ākat Khān mounted and rode away towards Afghanpur. The Sultān got down from the mound; entered his pavilion; and sitting on the throne, held a public reception. He then deputed Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughān Khān, and Malik Nasiruddīn Nūr Khān, to pursue Ākat Khān. They came up with him in Afghanpur, cut off his head, and presented it to the Sultān; and it was carried round the camp.

*Couplet.*

No one, with bragging, should on the seats of the mighty sit;  
Till he, with glory's mantle, should himself have adorned.

The Sultān ordered his brother, who was called Kutlagh Khān, and some of his special friends, to be executed; and he ordered others to be imprisoned and sent to distant forts. He then left that place, and coming to Rantambor besieged it, and employed all the various measures to capture it.

At this time news came that Umar Khān and Mangu Khān, who were both of them nephews of the Sultān, had revolted at Badāūn. The Sultān sent some of the nobles against them. The latter accordingly went, and seizing them, brought them before him. He ordered that the pencil (for blinding) should be drawn across their eyes; and ordered the destruction of their families.

*Couplet.*

If 'gainst thy benefactor thou wouldst rise,  
If high as the sky thou art, thou'lt headlong fall.

After this, while the siege of Rantambor was still going on, a man of the name of Hājī Moulā, who belonged to the tribe of the Malik-



ul-Umrā,<sup>1</sup> thinking it an opportune moment, laid the foundations of a disturbance in concert with some wretched men. He produced a forged *farmān*; and entering the capital by the Badāūn gate sent word to the Kotwāl of the city that a *farmān* had come from the Sultān, and asked him to come out, so that he might read it out to him. As soon as the Tarmadi<sup>2</sup> the Kotwāl came out, Hājī Moulā, with the aid of the body of turbulent men he had with him, killed him; and explained to the people that he had slain him by order of the Sultān. He also ordered the keepers of the different gates to close them; and sent a man to 'Alāuddīn Ayāz, who was the keeper of the new citadel, with a message that a *farmān* had arrived from the Sultān; and that he was to come at once and to read it. 'Alāuddīn Ayāz was aware of the man's perfidy; he collected his men; and strengthened the gates of the citadel. Hājī Moulā then went with his companions to the ruby Kiosk, released the prisoners, and took them along with him. He distributed the horses arms and treasure, which were there, among the men of the rabble that had come with him. He then forcibly brought an 'Alawī (i.e. a descendant of 'Alī) who was called Shah Nabasa Muhtasib<sup>3</sup> (i.e. a grandson of an emperor, who was also a police officer, who examined weights and measures, and took cognisance of offences against public morals) who, through his mother, traced his descent to Sultān Shamsuddin, and placed him on the throne in the ruby Kiosk. He also summoned the great men and the judges, and compelled them to do homage to that man. When information of this reached the Sultān, he did not divulge it; but made greater efforts to seize the fort, and was not at all disturbed. A week had not elapsed, when Malik

<sup>1</sup> The exact words are از خاصه خیالان ملک الامرا. In Elliot's history, vol. iii, p. 176, the man is described as "a person named Hājī, a Moulā or slave of the late Kotwāl Amīr-ul-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn."

<sup>2</sup> The name is given differently in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. In the former it is as I have given it in the text. In the three MSS. it is Barmadi, Ratumadi, and Tarmadi, respectively. In Elliot's translation of Zia-i-Barni it is Tarmuzi.

<sup>3</sup> It is said in Elliot's history (vol. iii, p. 176) that in the corresponding passage in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī of Zia-i-Barni the printed edition has اورا بنده می شد نجف گفتندی; while one MS. has اورا بنده می شد محتسب گفتندی but the other MS. omits the words.

Hamiduddīn Amīr Kū<sup>1</sup> with his sons who were celebrated for their bravery, opened the Badā-ūn gate and entered the city, and made a body of horsemen who were retainers of Zafar Khān, and who had come from Amroha, to be present at a muster, accompany them. There was a fight between them and Hāji Moulā near the Bahandar-kāl<sup>2</sup> gate. Amīr Kū dismounted from his horse, and wrestling with Hāji Moulā threw him, and pinned him down; and in spite of the wounds which he had received, did not let him go till he had killed him. Then they went to the ruby Kiosk, and slew the 'Alawi whom Hāji Moulā had placed on the throne; and fixing his head on a lance paraded it round the city; and sent it with a letter announcing the victory to the Sultān. The latter then sent Ulugh Khān to Dehli, and he punished all those who had created the disturbance. He ordered the sons of the Malik-ul-Umrā, the former Kotwal, to be executed, merely because Hāji Moulā had belonged to their tribe, although they had not had any share in the insurrection, and completely destroyed their families.

After this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn conquered Rantambor, with great difficulty and trouble. He ordered Hamīr Deo and all his clan and family to be slain. It is related that Mir Muhammad Shah and a band of insurgents had fled from Jālor<sup>3</sup> and taken shelter in Rantambor. Most of these were slain, at the time the fort was taken. Mir Muhammad Shah was lying wounded. When the Sultān's eye fell on him he was moved with pity, and said: "What would'st thou do, if I order thy wounds to be attended to, and save thee from this imminent danger; and after this how would'st thou

<sup>1</sup> It is not quite clear what or where Kū was. The readings are different: the lith. ed. has حمید الدین نامیر کونا پسران or Hamiduddīn with Amīr Kona's sons; MSS. A and B have حمید الدین بامیر کونا پسران خود or Hamiduddīn, Amīr Kū, with his sons. This reading I have adopted. MS. C has حمید الدین خود حمید کونا پسران which is slightly different.

The corresponding passage of the *Tarikh-i Firuz Shāhi* is translated in Elliot (vol. iii, p. 177) as "Malik Hamidu-ldīn. Amīr of Koh, with his sons and relations, all valiant men, opened the Ghazni gate, and went into the city."

<sup>2</sup> The name of this gate is given in the lith. ed. and in the three MSS. as نند کال بندر کال and نند کال بندر کال respectively. It is given in Elliot (vol. iii, p. 177) as "the gate of Bhandar Kāl."

<sup>3</sup> It appears from Elliot (vol. iii, p. 179) that these were new Mussalmān, who had fled from the rebellion in Gujrāt.

believe ?" He said in reply : " If I recover from my wounds, I would have thee slain, and raise the son of Hamīr Deo on the throne."

*Couplet.*

He who, by nature, evil is, keeps faith with none ;  
He who's of bad descent, never fails in doing wrong.

The Sultān then ordered that he should be placed under the foot of a rampant elephant, and he was crushed to death. After a time, when he recollected how true and loyal he had been to his benefactor, he ordered him to be decently buried. In short, Sultān 'Alāuddīn conferred the fort of Rantambor and the surrounding country on Ulugh Khān, as a fief; and returned to Dehli. After that, Ulugh Khān fell ill; and died on the way.

Owing to the frequency with which calamities and disturbances had taken place during that time, Sultān 'Alāuddīn asked the wise noblemen, who were noted for their intelligence and experience, what the reason for these repeated calamities might be. They replied that there could only be four causes. First, the ignorance of the king as to the good and the evil in the condition of the people; second, the indulgence of the people in spirituous drinks; when they drink, the evil humours come into motion, and many disturbances are created third, the friendship, and relationship and union among the Amīrs; fourth, wealth, which when it comes into the hands of base and mean-spirited people, wicked projects and insane thoughts find their way into their imaginations. The Sultān accepted the opinions of the Amīrs as correct: and ordered that every village, which might be held by anybody as a pious endowment, or as a service grant, or as an estate, should become Crown property, and whoever had any riches, it was to be seized, by an pretext which might be thought of; and brought into the Treasury. The people suffered great distress; and were always anxious for their daily bread; and the names of rebellion and disturbance were never on their tongues. Spies were at work in every quarter of the city, and in every lane, and house; and this was carried to such an extreme point that even the Amīrs, and men of wealth, could not mix or meet with one another, or go into the houses of one another. The furniture, used at the special festive

gatherings of the Sultān, which had been manufactured at great cost, were broken in front of the Badā-ūn gate; and the wines were spilt on the ground; so that the people might become aware of the prohibition of (the use of) wines. Proclamations were made in the capital, and orders and decrees about the prohibition of wines were sent into all parts of the kingdom. The foolish and ignorant people, who were accustomed to drink, and who could not forego the idea of it, brought liquor by various tricks and subterfuges; and some even distilled it in their houses, by stealth. When the Sultān became aware of these practices, he ordered a well to be dug, near the Badā-ūn gate, at a place frequented by the people, so that it might be used as a prison for these people. Most of the men who were incarcerated in this well, died, and the few who escaped with their lives, had to be medically attended to and treated for a long time before they could recover their health. After people had given up the habit of drinking, and the rules on the subject had been firmly established, the Sultān issued an order, that if any of the notables drank alone in his own house, and did not have a drinking party, he should not be taken to task for it. He also ordered that the Amīrs, and all the great men, should not invite one another to their houses, and should not have feasts; and should not without the permission of the Sultān enter into matrimonial and other relations. There was so much rigour in this respect also, that men ceased to meet one another, and the Amīrs began to behave to one another like strangers.

After these rules had been firmly established, the Sultān wanted to promulgate certain other rules in the country, which might result in the amelioration of the condition of the people, both strong and weak; so that the tyranny which the headmen and the chowdhīs (the headmen of the various castes and trades) exercised over weak people should cease to exist. He ordered that one half of the produce, by actual measurement, should be taken by the state without any deduction; and the headmen and chowdhīs and all other ~~rajas~~ were placed on the same footing; so that the burden of the state was not thrown on the weak. He also ordered that what used to be the perquisites of the chowdhīs should be collected and paid into the treasury and that grazing fees for each head of cow ~~and~~ and sheep should also be realized. The

scrutiny into the conduct of the ministerial officers and scribes was carried to such an extreme, that they were not able to misappropriate even one *jītal*. If any of them took anything in addition to his fixed salary, this at once appeared against him in the papers of the *patwari* (the village accountant); and was immediately exacted from him with the greatest rigour and contumely. Men gave up all ministerial offices, and all appointments as scribes, as something blameworthy. The condition of headmen and *chowdhri*s, who had always gone about on horseback, and had carried arms, and worn beautiful clothes, became so wretched, that their wives had to do menial work in the houses of others, and had to buy their food with what they got as wages.

Sultân 'Alâuddīn repeatedly said, that the orders and rules of government depended solely on the judgment of the Sovereign, and that the law (of the Prophet) had no concern with them. The trial of disputes, the decision of suits, and the methods of worship were in the province of *Kāzī*s and learned men. Accordingly he carried into effect whatever he judged, in his mind, to be for the better government of the country; and paid no heed to the question as to whether what he did was or was not authorized by the law. Among the learned men, *Kāzī Zia-ud-dīn* of *Biānah*, *Moulānah Zahir Lang* and *Moulānah Mushaiad Kuhrāmī* attended at the outer table with the *Amīr*s; but *Kāzī Maghī'suddīn* of *Biānah* was allowed to join the Sultân's own table. One day the Sultân told him: "I want to put a few questions to you." *Kāzī Maghī'suddīn* said in reply: "In all probability my death is near; as I shall only say what there is in the books of the law; and perhaps it will not coincide with the Sultân's opinions." The Sultân said: "Say whatever may be the truth. You will not be taken to task for it." He first asked him whether a Hindu should, in accordance with the law, be described as pure; or as a heathen, who is allowed to practise his religion, on condition of his paying the poll tax; or as an ordinary tax-payer? The *Kāzī* said in reply, that "if the Sultân's tax-collector demands money or tax from him; and he, with the greatest respect, pays it, without objection; and even if the tax-collector behaves to him in a way which may be insulting, he suffers it quietly, without demur or hatred; for it has been said in respect of *Kāfir*s, as long as they pay the *Jaziah* let them be humbled; and about them, men learned

in the law have directed 'either slay them, or make them accept Islam'; and a traditionary saying of the Prophet (on whom be blessing and peace!) is also conclusive on this point; but the great Imâm Hanafî (on whom be the mercy of God!) has laid it down, that the taking of the *Jaziah* is a substitute for their death; and has prohibited the shedding of their blood, therefore the *Jaziah* and rent should be collected from them, with such rigour as may be equivalent to the slaying of them." The Sultân laughed and said: "What you have propounded in accordance with the books, I have discovered all that by my own endeavours; and I have treated the Hindus accordingly." Again he asked: "When a tax-gatherer takes a bribe, and fraudulently reduces the revenue, is it to be considered a kind of theft; and is he to be punished like a thief?" The Kâzî said in reply: "If the tax-gatherer has received enough to maintain himself from the Treasury, then whatever he might have appropriated in addition to that, in the way of a bribe, etc., that should be exacted from him, with all the rigour and contumely that may be possible; but the cutting off of the hand, which has been specially prescribed for thefts of property, cannot be applied to him." The Sultân said: "I know this much, that from the day that I have taken special care about this matter, I have recovered, with every possible rigour and violence, everything that anybody might have embezzled, and appropriated to himself; and have caused it to be paid into the Treasury. The paths of theft and embezzlement have been closed; and the misappropriating arm of the avaricious has been shortened." The Sultân again asked: "Does all that wealth, which I brought from Deogir, belong to me or to the public treasury?" The Kâzî said: "As the Sultân acquired all that wealth through the power and the exertions of the army, therefore the whole of the troops should participate in it; and it belongs to the public treasury, and not to the Sultân personally." The Sultân flew into a wrath, and said: "How can the riches which I acquired with the greatest trouble, in the days when I was a Malik, and which I did not at the time pay into the public treasury, be considered to belong to it?" The Kâzî said in reply: "Those riches which the Sultân acquired by his personal exertions, and in obtaining and acquiring which he did not take the help of the army, should certainly belong to him personally; but these

riches, which the Sultān brought from Deogr, do not belong to this class." After this the Kāzī stood up and asked to be excused; and said: "If I submit anything in the presence of the Sultān which may be contrary to the treatises on the law, and the Sultān should be apprized by some one else of my falsehood, that should be a just cause for the increase of the Sultān's wrath. What would then be my position in the Sultān's estimation? and should I not have made myself liable for treason?" The Sultān again asked: "What right have I or my immediate dependants on the public treasury?" The Kāzī was much affected, and said: "If I speak according to the law, the Sultān will not hesitate about ordering me to be slain; and if I speak ambiguously or falsely, I shall suffer eternal punishment." The Sultān said: "Say what is right and just; and you will not be censured for it." The Kāzī said: "If the Sultān acts righteously, and follows the examples of the great Caliphs (may God place them in paradise!) he should appropriate to himself only as much as he allots to one of his servants; and if he follows an intermediate course, he should take from the public treasury as much as he gives to one of his chief Amīrs, than which he does not give more to any one else; but if he acts according to the permission of men learned in religious matters,<sup>1</sup> who on such occasions, seeking shelter in unauthorized traditions, acquiesce in the wishes of victorious monarchs, then he may take as much as may be somewhat distinguished from what the Amīrs get. Under no circumstances is it permissible for him to appropriate more than this from the public treasury." The Sultān again became very angry; and said: "Do you mean to say that all this money that is disbursed in my haram (palace), as rewards to servants, in the different domestic offices, and in various other ways, is spent in contravention of the law? The Kāzī said: "As the Sultān asked me questions about the law, it was right that I should submit to him what was right according to the treatises on the law; but if he asks me what is expedient for reasons of state, I should at once tell him that all that he does is right, and is in accordance with the rules and laws of empire; and, indeed, if anything is over and beyond such rules and

<sup>1</sup> The expression used by Zia-i-Barni is 'Ulamā-i-Duniya, learned and wise men of the world, but in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* both in the lith. ed. and in the MSS, the expression is 'Ulamā-i-Dīn, men learned in religious doctrines.

laws, it only conduces to the pomp and grandeur of the empire; and would result in various advantages to it." After that the Sultān said that: "I have taken three years' pay from all horsemen who did not appear at the musters: and have put to the sword all rebels, and all disturbers of the peace, with all their children and dependants; and have brought into the treasury all the property which they might have had, wherever it might be, and have ruined and destroyed their families. I have also prescribed various pains and penalties for thieves, and wine-bibbers and adulterers. Do you say that all this is contrary to the law?" The Kāzī got up from his seat, went to a distance, and placing his head on the ground said: "It is all against the law." The Sultān grew angry, and went into the women's apartments.

*Couplet.*

When thou dost say what's right and just !  
'Tis God himself that teacheth thee !

The next day the Sultān sent for Kāzī Maghīsuddīn, showed him great kindness, and gave him a robe and a thousand tangāhs as a reward. He said: "I am a Musalmān and the son of a Musalmān. All the rigour and punishment that I use is for the good of the empire. I do not know what will happen to me, to-morrow, on the day of judgment."

After some time the Sultān marched with his troops towards Chitor, and having conquered the fort in a short time, returned to Dehli. When the news reached Mawara-un-Nahr that Sultān 'Alā-uddīn was engaged with the siege of a distant fort, and would remain there for a long time, the Mughal Targhī, who has been mentioned already, came with a large army to plunder Hindustan, and encamped on the bank of the Jamnā near Dehli. But the Sultān had finished the conquest of Chitor; and returned to Dehli a month before this. The flower of the Sultān's army had however marched to the extreme south of the Dakin, to conquer Arangal; and most of the great Amīrs had gone to their own Jāgīrs, after the conquest of Rantambor, and the troops which were with the Sultān were badly equipped, owing to the rains, and the length of the time they had been in camp. The Sultān in a state of



perplexity came out of Dehli with the troops he had with him, and encamped in the plain of Sirî. He strengthened his position by digging trenches, and placing thorns, bound together, and other means of defence, and waited for the Amîrs whom he had summoned from different directions. The Amîrs could not, however, join him, as the Mughals had occupied the country round Dehli, and had fortified their positions. Some of them waited at Kol, and some at Baran. When two months had elapsed, Targhî, without any visible cause, went away. The citizens of Dehli ascribed this to the favour of Sheikh Nizâmuddîn, may his tomb be holy; and counted it as one of his miracles. They say that a panic seized Targhî, and he started in confusion, and returned [to his own country].

After that the Sultân made Sirî his capital, and laid the foundations of great buildings, and rebuilt the citadel of Dehli; and again strengthened the forts, which were situated along the path of the entrance of the Mughals. He also determined to have such an army as would be sufficient for encountering the Mughals, as well as for defending the empire (against other enemies); but he found that his revenue was not sufficient for the maintenance of such an army. He accordingly took counsel with his wise ministers and experienced nobles. They said, that if horses, and arms, and all the accoutrements of a soldier, on which the strength of an army depends, and grain, and all other necessities which the common people require, became cheap, the wishes of the Sultân might be realized. For the soldier would, on account of the cheapness of grain, be able to provide himself with provisions, even on the small pay he would get. The Sultân then framed a few rules on this subject, in consultation with his Vazîrs, who were the wisest men of the age. Owing to these rules, all the necessities of life became cheap. The first rule was this, that a price was fixed for the different kinds of grain, in accordance with the orders of the Sultân. The market people were not allowed to have any power in fixing the price of grains. What was settled was this:

Wheat, per maund, seven and a half jitals;	barley per maund, four jitals.
Gram „ five jitals;	rice „ five „
(Cicer arietinum)	(in husk)
Mash „ five „	Moth „ three „
(Vetch, <i>phaseolus radiatus</i> )	(lentil, <i>phaseolus aconiti folius</i> ).

These rates remained unaltered till the end of Sultân 'Alā-uddin's reign ; and no change took place in them, either on account of drought, or any kind of dearth. The second rule was this, that Malik Kabul Ulugh Khān, who was a wise man with great firmness of character, was appointed to be Inspector of the grain market (which in the language of Hindustan is called a Mandui), so that he might see that all buying and selling was according to the rates fixed by the Sultân. The third rule was this, that the share of the produce of the crown-lands, which belonged to the Sultân, should be collected and stored in the towns ; so that if there should be any deficiency in the grain brought to the market, it might be sold at the fixed rate. The fourth rule (or order) was this, that Malik Kabul should summon the grain dealers of the various towns in the empire, and settle them on the bank of the Jamnā, so that they might bring grain from the various parts of the empire, and sell it in the market of Dehli at the Sultân's rates ; and he should take bonds from them for this purpose. The fifth rule was for the prohibition of regrating, and this was carried to such a point that if it appeared that any soldier or cultivator had committed the offence of regrating, the grain was taken from him, and was added to the Sultan's grain, and the man was amerced. The sixth rule was this, that all cultivators were directed to sell the produce of their fields where it was grown, and not to take one grain to their houses, and the tax-gatherers were ordered to collect the dues from the rayyats in such a way, that the latter might use the produce of their land in the fields, and might not take anything but their own share to their houses, and might not commit the offence of regrating. The seventh rule was this, that a report of the rates of the prices of the different kinds of grain, and of all matters connected with the grain market, had to be submitted every day in detail to the Sultân. If there was the least infraction of these rules, the managers of the markets and their agents were punished. An order was also passed, that in seasons of drought, each man should buy from the market a quantity of grain proportionate to the number of persons in his family ; and no one was allowed to buy more than was sufficient for the daily needs of his family. Officers were appointed to attend to this ; and there was the greatest scrutiny and rigour about it. The Sultân employed spies to make secret

reports to him about this matter. No one was allowed to make a difference of even half a jital in the rates fixed by the Sultân.

Rules were also framed, and provisions made, to secure the cheap sale of cloth. The first was this, that an extensive building was erected near the Badāūn gate; and was named the mansion of justice, and the Sultân ordered that all piece-goods brought from the different parts of the empire should be deposited in it, and should be sold there, and no one was to sell any piece-goods in the market, or in his own house. The buying and selling in the mansion of justice was to take place from early morning to the hour of the first prayers. If it became known that any of the market people closed his shop before the hour of early prayer, or had opened it after early morning, he was punished. The second was this, that all piece-goods were sold at the rates which were fixed from before the throne. [These were] raw silk<sup>1</sup> of Dehli, sixteen tangahs; raw silk of orange colour, six tangahs; silk mixed with hair, three tangahs; red striped stuff, eight jitals; common stuffs, thirty-six jitals; red lining of Nāgore, twenty-four jitals; fine Shirin baft, five tangahs; medium Shirin baft, three tangahs; best Silahati, four tangahs; medium Silahati, three tangahs; coarse Silahati two tangahs; fine cotton, twenty yards, one tangah; grey coarse cotton, forty yards, one tangah; sheets, ten jitals each. The third rule was this, that

<sup>1</sup> There are some differences in the names of the different kinds of stuff. The first kind is called *خو* in the lith. ed. In two of the MSS. it appears to be *خشن*, which means coarse rough cloth. In the third, it is *خبز* which may be *Khazz* or *Khanz*. I have adopted *Khazz* as it is not likely that coarse rough cloth should be placed at the head of the list, and should be valued at sixteen tangahs. The first class is also called 'Delhi Khazz Silk' in Major Fuller's translations from the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* given in *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1870. The fourth kind is called *دولعل* in the lith. ed. In the MSS. it is called *برد قلبي در لعل* in MS. B and *بر قلبي لعل* in MS. C. I cannot exactly make out the meaning. In Major Fuller's translations already referred to it is called red-striped stuff, and I have taken this name. The price in the translation is six jitals, but in the lith. ed. as well as in the MSS. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* it is eight jitals. The price of the best kind appears in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. as thirty-six jitals. This appears to be a mistake. The price in Major Fuller's translation is three and a half jitals. The price of fine and middling *Silahati* is six and four tangahs respectively in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhi*, but the translator considered the price mentioned for fine *Silahati* was very high.

the names of the merchants of the city, and of different parts of the empire, were entered in a register; and they were directed that they should bring all piece-goods into the city, as they had been accustomed to do before; and should sell them, in the mansion of justice, at the rates fixed by the Sultan. Any one who neglected to do this, was held to be an offender. The third measure was this, that sums of money were advanced from the treasury to the merchants of the city, so that they might bring piece-goods from different parts of the empire, and sell them, in the mansion of justice, at the prescribed rates. The fifth rule was this, that whenever any of the noted Amirs required any specially fine piece of cloth, he had to obtain a license from the chief of the market. This rule was framed with this object, that merchants living in different parts of the country might not buy such fine cloth, in the mansion of justice, at the fixed rates, and sell them at other places at higher prices.

Four rules were also framed to secure the cheap sale of horses. The first for fixing the classes, and the price for each class; for instance, for horses of the first class, one hundred tangahs; for those of the second class from eighty to ninety tangahs; and for those of the third class from sixty-five to seventy tangahs. The second rule was this, that horsedealers, and the moneyed men of the city were not allowed to buy horses at the market. The moneyed men of the city, who had been accustomed to buy cheap and sell dear, were driven out of the city and banished and dispersed. The third rule was for the admonition and punishment of brokers of horses; it was ordered that if a single horse was sold in a market, in contravention of the Sultan's rates, all the brokers in the market would be imprisoned and punished. The fifth rule was this, that at the end of each month an enquiry was made about the classification of horses, and their prices; and about the condition and behaviour of the brokers, and if the slightest deviation from the rules framed by the Sultân was detected, the brokers were punished.

The four rules, just mentioned, about horses, were also enforced in the case of prisoners of war (slaves), and cattle.

Everything that happened in the markets was immediately written down; and daily reports were placed before the Sultân. Spies were also appointed to enquire about the condition of the

market, and if it appeared that the managers of the markets had reported anything contrary to the truth, they were punished. Everything which had to be sold and bought in the markets were brought to the presence of the Sultān and he examined them and fixed the rates for them. He did not consider even such things as needles and combs and shoes, and earthen pitchers and cups, as too trifling. The prices of precious, as well as common, things were fixed by the Sultān personally; and a statement of the rates of their prices was supplied to the markets. The care and supervision which the Sultān exercised over market people, and the scrutiny which he made about the rates, were carried to such a pitch, that after a time, young children, who had no knowledge about buying and selling things, were sent to the markets with a few tangalis in their hands, so that they might buy such things as children were fond of. The things were taken to the Sultān, and if it appeared that there was the least difference either in the rate, or in the weight, the man who had sold the things was punished. The mildest punishment that was inflicted in such cases was the cutting off of the ear or the nose.

After articles of food, and the accoutrements of the soldiers, had become cheap, and the strength of the army had been increased, the doors of the entrance of the Mughals, and of their tyrannies, were in a manner closed. If at any time a band of Mughals came towards Dehli, they were all taken prisoners and slain. For instance, on one occasion Ali Beg, the grandson<sup>1</sup> of Changiz Khān, and Tartak, came with forty thousand horsemen into the country of Amrohā along the skirts of the Sivalik hills. Sultān 'Alauddin nominated Malik Nayak Akhur Beg<sup>2</sup> to march against

<sup>1</sup> Here also نَبِيْرَة or نَبِيْرَة is used in the sense of a descendant and not strictly of a grandson. The name of the second commander is doubtful. It is given as Tartāk both in Elliot and in Major Fuller's translation, but it is said in a note in the former, that the " MSS. (of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāh) have 'Taryāk' and 'Ziyāk' ". In the text of Ferishta he is called Taryāk; but in the translation ' Khwāja Tarh,' which is in accordance with D'Osson (*Hist. Des Mongols*, iv. 571). The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* has Rasmak." It is however not Rasmak in the lith. ed. or in any of the three MSS. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* I have collated. It is بَرْمَاك in the former, and نَزِيْمَاك and نَزِيْمَاك in the three MSS.

<sup>2</sup> This name is not clear. It appears like Malik Nāyak Akhur Beg in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. The name is also Malik Nāyak Akhur Beg in

them with a large army. They came up with them within the Amroha territory and gave battle. Most of the Mughals were slain, and Ali Beg and Tartak were taken prisoners; and were brought before the Sultân, with chains round their necks, with the twenty thousand horses, which had also been taken. That day, the Sultân came out of the city, and held a public reception on the Subhâni Qhabutara, and the troops were stationed in two lines from this place to Indarpat.<sup>1</sup> At this time Ali Beg and Tartāk Beg with the other captives were led in front of the Sultân; and most of them were slain by being thrown under the feet of elephants.

*Couplet.*

Whoever in this world doth ill,  
To him at last that ill returns

A second time a Mughal named Kabek<sup>2</sup> came with a large army into the town of Khakar, and fought with the army of Dehli; but most of them were slain; and a tower was built of their heads, near the Badāūn gate. After a time, another Mughal army, about thirty thousand strong, came into the Siwālik territory and commenced to plunder the country. When this came to the knowledge of the Sultân, he sent a numerous army against them. This army took up a position near the river Rāvt, on the route by which the Mughals would return. When the Mughal army encumbered with much booty, arrived at the bank of the river, the army of Dehli attacked them with great bravery; and were crowned with triumph

Elliot, but it is "Malik Atābak, the master of horse," in Major Fuller's translation. According to Mr Tolbort's note appended to Major Fuller's translation, the commander sent by the Sultân was, according to Badāūni, Malik Manik (= Naib Kāfur Hazār-Dināri) and, according to Forishta, Tughluk Khān.

<sup>1</sup> The name of this place is given in both Elliot and Major Fuller's translation as Indarpat. It may be Indarpat in MS. A of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, but in the lith. ed. and in MS. C it is Madinah and in MS. B it is Nadinah.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this Mughal leader is Kank in Elliot and Gang in Major Fuller's translation. It is Kabak or Kabik or Kapik in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*. The name of the town which was attacked by the Mughals was given as Khakar by Zia-i-Barni and Khakar or Khakhara in the *Tabakat-i Akbari*. Probably the river Ghaggar near Patialā is meant.

and victory. They took a large number of the Mughal leaders captive, and kept them imprisoned in the fort of Tarāinah,<sup>1</sup> which was in the neighbourhood; and brought their families and adherents to Dehli, where they were sold in the market-place as slaves. After that, Malik Khās Hājib was ordered to go to Tarāinah and to have the prisoners executed. When some time had elapsed after this, a Mughal of the name of Iḳbalmanda invaded Hindustan with a large army. A battle took place between him and the army of Dehli at Dihandah 'Amīr 'Alī Wāhan<sup>2</sup>; and he was slain, while the other Mughals were brought to Dehli as prisoners; and were trampled to death under the feet of elephants. After that, such a fear and dread took possession of the hearts of the Mughals, that the idea [of invading] Hindustān was obliterated from their minds. The country remained free from their depredations to the end of the reign of Kuṭbuddīn Mubārak Shāh. Sultān Tughlak Shah, who in those days was called the Ghāzi (warrior) Malik, and held the fiefs of Dibālpur and Lahore, raided every year up to the boundaries of the Mughal country; and pillaged those districts. The Mughals could not come and oppose him, and defend the outskirts of their country.

After the depredations of the Mughals had been completely stopped, and most of the towns of Hindustān, which had been the refuge and asylum of turbulent and refractory people, had been brought under complete subjection, and the paths of the coming and going of merchants and all other travellers had been made perfectly safe, and the strength of the army had also been raised to the needs of the empire, Sultān 'Alāuddīn being now firmly seated on the throne of Dehli, and having his mind perfectly free from all anxiety, contemplated the conquest of the distant towns and provinces; and whatever country he attempted to conquer, that he subjugated, without any trouble or difficulty.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the fort is given as Nārāniāh in Elliot and as Nārāinah in Major Fuller's translation.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this place is not clear. It appears from a note to Major Fuller's translation, that the MS. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* which the writer of the note had, had the name of the place as I have given it. The writer of the note adds that Dihandah was the name of a river near Ajodhan Patan-i-Panjab, south-west of Deopalpur or Dibalpur. The name of the place where the battle took place is not given in Elliot.

*Couplets.*

When the help of Heaven to the fortunate comes,  
 He gains his object ev'n before his wish ;  
 While still his wish is in his heart,  
 The treasure to his hand doth come ;  
 If the tilth of his purpose is in the east,  
 From the west to him comes rain and wind.

The success which crowned his aims and objects, and the wonderful works he accomplished by his exertions and endeavours have been deemed by many to be nothing less than miracles, and they have attributed their achievement to revelation and inspiration ; while a few have described them as miracles caused by evil agencies and have thought that they were the effect of deception caused by God ; while others have thought, that the safety and the happiness of the people were due to the auspicious existence of Shaikh Nizâmuddin Aulia ( may his grave be holy ! ).

In short, Malik Nâib Kâfur Hazâr-dinâri was sent with other great Amirs and renowned Khâns against Deogîr, one of the cities of the Dakin. The Sultân distinguished him with many honours and granted him a red canopy and other royal favours. Khwajah Haji, the deputy muster-master of the forces, was sent with him, so that he might supervise the operations of the army and take charge of the booty. Malik Kâfur on arrival at Deogîr made, by means of his bravery and his skilful manœuvres, the ruler of the district (Râm Deo) and his sons prisoners ; and took possession of all the treasures and seventeen elephants. These he sent to Dehli, with a report of the victory. Immediately after this, he showed great kindness to Râm Deo ; and took him with the elephants and treasure to Dehli ; and there became the recipient of Royal favours. The Sultân treated Râm Deo with generosity, bestowed the title of Rây-i-Râyân, and a canopy and a lac of tangâhs, on him as his reward ; and confirming him in the possession of Deogîr sent him back. Râm Deo then became a loyal servant of the Sultân, and always rendered him allegiance, homage, and valuable service.

In the year 790 A.H., Sultân 'Alâuddîn sent Malik Kâfur, a

The language sounds blasphemous, but the translation is literal.



*second time, with a large army to Arangal. At the time of sending him off, he directed that if Rudar Deo,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of Arangal, made over treasure, and guns and elephants, and agreed to pay an annual tribute, he should be satisfied with that; and should return. He should not, in that case, exert himself to conquer the fort or to take Rai Rudar Deo prisoner. He should also consult with Khwājah Hāji about the affairs of those parts, and should not punish the Amīrs for petty offences, and minor derelictions of duty. He should however not allow any negligence. If a soldier acquired some booty, and begged to be allowed to retain it, he should grant his prayer; also if a trooper's horse should be killed in battle, or be stolen, or become useless, he should give him a better horse in place of it. These things he should consider to be the duties of a ruler. Malik Kāfur and Khwājah Hāji then bade the Sultān farewell; and, by rapid marches, went towards Arangal. When they arrived at Chanderi, they stopped there for a few days, and took a muster of the army. From that place they started for Deogir. Rām Deo advanced to welcome them, made a large present, performed the ceremonies of homage and service; and accompanied the army for several stages. He then obtained leave to return and went back to Deogir.*

When Malik Nāib arrived near Arangal, the neighbouring Rais, through fear of the army of Islam, had hastened forward; and built a citadel in the outer fort, which was very extensive, into which they crowded, and which they prepared to defend. Rudar Deo with his own followers took shelter in the inner citadel, which was built of stone. The Sultān's army besieged the fort, and made every effort to seize it, and the Hindus, from inside, to oppose and prevent them. After a time, the outer fort was taken, after a severe struggle. Most of the Rais and Zamindārs and their families and dependants were taken prisoner; and an immense number were slain. Rāi Rudar Deo, in great distress, opened negotiations, and begged for protection. Malik Nāib took from him much treasure, a hundred elephants, and seven thousand horses, and gave him assurances of safety. It was also stipulated that he would send suitable tribute every year. Malik

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as Laddar Deo in Elliot. It is Laddar Deo also in the lith. ed. of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* but it is Rudar Deo in two of the MSS.; besides Rudar (Rudra) Deo is a well-known name, whereas Laddar Deo has no meaning.

Nāib then submitted a report, stating the facts to the Sultān, who on receiving it, ordered that the report of the victory should be read from the pulpits; that the drum of joy should be beaten, and gifts and presents should be made. When Malik Nāib returned to Dehli, the Sultān came out of the city, and sat in state, on the Nāsiri Qhabutarah (platform) near the Badā-ūn gate. Malik Nāib was there allowed to offer his homage; and passed all the booty before the Sultan's eyes; and was honoured with various favours.

It has been related that whenever Sultān 'Alāuddin sent an army to any place, he arranged a horse dak chonki (relay) (which in the language of the ancients is called a yām or post horse) from Dehli to the place of destination; and he posted at each karoh a fast runner, who is called a paik in Hindi); and he appointed a scribe, at each town or city, on the way, who reported every day what happened there. It so happened that on this occasion, when Malik Nāib was sent against Arangal, all news of him was cut off, owing to some disturbances on the road, and certain relays of horses being disarranged. The Sultan was much grieved at this, and deputed Malik Karā Beg and Kāzi Maghīsuddīn, and a Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, and others conveying his prayers (for the Shaikh's welfare) to tell him that the Sultān had not received any news of the army that had been sent against Arangal, for a long time; that his anxiety for the safety of the army of Islam would be great; that the Sultān; that if he should be acquainted, by means of the termination of his sanctity, with the condition of the army, he would lighten and gladden the Sultān's heart by disclosing it. They then told the messengers, that they were to bring back to him, whether it any increase or diminution, whatever might fall from the lot of the Shaikh. When they arrived in the latter's presence, they delivered the Sultān's message. The Shaikh referred to one of the previous kings; narrated the story of his conquests; and introduced these words in the course of the narrative, viz. "in addition to this conquest other conquests may be expected." Malik Karā Beg and Kāzi Maghīsuddīn returned from the presence of the Shaikh, and repeated his words to the Sultān. The latter was extremely glad, and knew that Arangal had been conquered; and had no doubt that other conquests would follow. At the

*close of the same day, Malik Naib's report of the victory came, and this became the reason of the Sultān's having greater faith in the Shaikh's holiness. Although Sultān 'Alāuddīn never went in person to pay his respects to the Shaikh, yet he always showed his faith and trust in him by sending messages to him, and by praying for his intercession.*

Again in the year 910 A.H., Sultān 'Alāuddīn sent Malik Nāib towards Dhor Samundar (Dvar Samudra), and M'abar (Malabar). Khwājah Hāji, the deputy muster-master of the forces, was sent with him. When they arrived at Deogir, they found that Ray Rām Deo was dead, but his son performed the usual services. Malik Nāib and Khwājah Hāji did not delay at Deogir, but, leaving it quickly, reached the vicinity of Dhor Samundar. Presently they captured that place, and took Mallar Deo, who was the ruler there, prisoner. They obtained thirty-six elephants and much treasure, and sent a report of their victory to Dehli. They then advanced with their troops to M'abar, and conquered it also, and having demolished the temples there, and broken the golden and jewelled idols, sent the gold into the Treasury. They also obtained much treasure from each of the two Rāyās who ruled in M'abar and returned with three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety six thousand maunds of gold and chests filled with gems, and pearls, and other booty, which was beyond all calculation, and did service to the Sultān. The latter was delighted with the great victories achieved, and the immense quantities of booty obtained, and conferred a share of this plunder on the Amirs.

One of the wonderful events which occurred in the latter part of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's reign was this, that a number of worthless neo-Moslems who held no posts, and had no stipends, conspired together that they would slay the Sultān, when he would be out hunting and would have none of his attendants near him. When information of this plot reached the Sultān, he, owing to the harshness and violence which had been ingrained in his nature, directed that every one of the class of neo-Moslems, that may be found anywhere, should be slain; so in the course of a single day, a few thousand inoffensive persons, who had no knowledge of the conspiracy, were ruthlessly slain, and their property was confiscated, and their offspring destroyed.

At the same time a band of Bahtis<sup>1</sup> appeared. The Sultān ordered that they should all be seized, and saws should be drawn across their heads, and they were slain in this cruel way; and as the Sultān was of a violent and implacable nature, no one had the hardihood to intercede for anybody before him. When he was annoyed with any one, his anger was not appeased, even in the course of a lifetime; and he never left a way open for peace. Although in the early period of his reign he used to take counsel with people about matters of policy, and allowed them to interfere in them, yet in his later years, when his mind was free from anxiety about every thing, and all his political projects ended according to his wishes, he did whatever came into his thoughts, and accorded with his views, and did not take counsel with any one in such matters.

It has been said that no other Emperor of Hindustān gained so many victories as Sultān 'Alāuddīn. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī* says, that so many edifices, such as mosques, and minarets, and reservoirs, and citadels, and other similar structures, were erected in his time, as had not been built in any other. The number of artificers and master-workmen also, as were seen in his reign, no one remembered in any other period. The veracity and righteousness, in the higher classes, as well as in ordinary people, the obedience displayed by the Hindus, and the suppression of all turbulence, which were seen in his time, were never found at any other. In no other period were so many great religious teachers, and so many wayfarers, in the path of faith, whose noble presence made Delhi the object of the envy of the other cities of the world, collected together as in his reign. Among them was the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliā Al-'Aziz, may his tomb be holy! who stands not in need of any praise, and who, seated on the high road of instruction and guidance, showed the true path to the people. Many people were assembled in the Khānkūh of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā from the 5th to the 10th day of the Muharram,

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find out who these were. The name is باهتیاں in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. it appears to be باهتیاں or باجیان. The corresponding passage in *Zia-i-Harni* is translated as "in most of the years . . . disturbances (ibāhatīyān) broke out in the city" in Elliot (iii. 206), but it appears to me that Bāhtīyāns or Bāhtīyās were some schismatics. Ibāhat means publishing, divulging a secret; permitting, giving liberty.

which were the feast days of Shaikh-ul-Islam Farīduddīn of Ajodhan; and during those days people came to Dehli from all parts of Hindustān; and even the doors and walls (i.e. inanimate objects) broke out in exclamations of wonder, on seeing the ecstasies of the men immersed in the Divine essence who were present. Another was Shaikh 'Alauddīn, grandson of Shaikh Farīduddīn, who had been seated on the carpet of instruction in Ajodhan, and who was so deeply engaged in exoteric and esoteric worship that people called him a holy angel. Another was His Holiness, the Pole star of saints, Shaikh Ruknuddīn, son of Shaikh Sadruddīn, son of Shaikh Bahāuddīn, Zakaria, Multāni, may God sanctify their spirits! who used to guide the wanderers in the desert of search (for God) along the highway of faith to the furthest goal of accomplishment. All the inhabitants of Multān and Uchch, and of the whole province of Sind, came to his gate, and throwing themselves under the wing of his protection, obtained safety from dangers and calamities. His illustrious father Shaikh Sadruddīn, in spite of the fact that he had so much wealth, which he had inherited from his father, and that he had so many offerings and gifts that even imagination could not keep count of them, was almost always in debt. Another was Sayyad Tājuddīn, son of Sayyad Kutbuddīn, who in liberality, erudition, patience, and other human perfections was unrivalled in that age. For a time, he was the Kāzī of Audh, and after that he became Kāzī of Badāūn. Another was Sayyad Ruknuddīn, brother of the aforesaid Sayyad Tājuddīn, who was the Kāzī of Karah; and was adorned with praiseworthy qualities. Next among the Sayyads of Kaithal were Sayyad Maghisuddīn, and his brother Sayyad Maslahatuddīn; and both these brothers were possessed of erudition and piety and purity and all perfections. They were called the Sayyads of Nohatah. There were other Sayyads, and great men; but a detailed description of each would be too long. Among these was Kāzī Sadruddīn 'Arif; who was the chief Kāzī of the kingdom and had the title of Sadr-i-Jahān. After him Kāzī Jalaluddīn Dilwāti<sup>1</sup> became the Kāzī of the kingdom, and

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<sup>1</sup> This word is given differently in the lith. ed. and in the MSS. In the former it is *Lawāhi*. In MS. A it is *Lawāhi*; MS. B *Dilwāti* and in MS. C *Dawalhi*.

Maulānā Zīāuddīn-i-Biānāh became the Sadr-i-Jahān (chief Judge). In the latter days of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Malik Itijār Hamiduddīn Multānī became the Qāzī of the kingdom.

Among the exoteric learned men, who were versed in various sciences, and were engaged in teaching and imparting knowledge, there were forty-six, viz. Qāzī Fakhruddīn Nafsah,<sup>1</sup> Qāzī Sharfuddīn Sarmani, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Ghānī, Maulānā Tājuddīn Mukaddam, Qāzī Zīāuddīn Biānāh, Maulānā Zahr Lang, Maulānā Ruknuddīn Sunāmī, Maulānā Tājuddīn Kalāhi, Maulānā Zahriddīn Bhakari, Qāzī Mahiuddīn Kāshānī, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Kulī, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Pāelt, Maulānā Minhājuddīn Kabūt, Maulānā Nizāmuddīn Kalāhi, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Karah, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Sābūnī, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Tājir, Maulānā Karimuddīn Jauhari, Maulānā Hujjat Multānī, Maulānā Hamiduddīn Mukhbe, Maulānā Burhānuddīn Bhakari, Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Barni, Maulānā Hisāmuddīn Surkh, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Malhu, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Kurk, Maulānā Hisāmuddīn Shādi, Maulānā Hamiduddīn Multānī, Maulānā Shihābuddīn Multānī, Maulānā Fakhruddīn Hānsui, Maulānā Fakhruddīn Safīl, Qāzī Zainuddīn Nāfīlah, Maulānā Sarkhi, Maulānā Wajihuddīn Rizi, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Sadr Shari'at, Maulānā Mirān Bari Jah, Maulānā Najibuddīn Shādi, Maulānā Shamsuddīn, Maulānā Nasīruddīn, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Lahūrī, Qāzī Shamsuddīn Kārzunī, Maulānā Shamsuddīn Yehya, Maulānā Nasīruddīn Itāwī, Maulānā M'atnu l-dīn Lah, Maulānā Iftikhāruddīn Rāzī, Maulānā M'uizzuddīn Andreht, and Maulānā Najmuddīn Inteshārī. In the latter part of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Maulānā 'Ilmuddīn, the grandson of Shaikh Bahāuddīn Zakariā, who had been one of the most learned men of his time, came to Dehli, and employed himself in imparting scientific and traditional knowledge. Among the teachers of the science of reading the Kurān, Maulānā Shatī, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Mukrā and Khwājah Zakī, the nephew of Hasan Basri, were distinguished. Preachers like Maulānā 'Imad Hasan Darwesh, and his brother Maulānā Jalāl, Maulānā Zīāuddīn Sunāmī, Maulānā Shihābuddīn Khalīfī and Maulānā Karīm were the best of that period. Sipah-

<sup>1</sup> There are some differences in the sequence of the names and in the names themselves in the lith. ed. and in the three MSS.

sālār Tajuddīn 'Irāqī, Khudāwandzādah Unasnigir, one grandson of Balban-i-Buzurg, Malik Rukuuddīn Abīb, Malik 'Izzuddīn Tughān Khān and Malik Nasīruddīn 'Nūr Khān were the wittiest courtiers. Among the poets of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, by whose incomparable existence the capital, Dehli, nay the whole country of Hindustān, was embellished and adorned; and the fame of whose eloquence had spread over the whole world (were the following); but the chief among them was Amīr Khusru, who in the use of words, and the invention of meanings, had supreme excellence; and the marks of whose greatness and excellence are clear, and patent from his works, in prose and verse. He was likewise a mystic, deeply immersed in ecstatic contemplation. Most of his time was spent in fasting and prayers; and he was quite intoxicated with the love and longing for God. Sultān 'Alāuddīn used to pay this excellent product of the age a stipend of a thousand tangahs. Another was Amīr Hasan Sanjari, who was celebrated for the facility of his composition, and the elegance of his diction. He composed most elegant odes, was a great poet, and was called the S'adi of Hindustān. He was also unrivalled in that age for the purity of his morals, and contentment, and for abandoning (worldly pleasures) and his love of solitude. He was a disciple of his holiness Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, may his tomb be holy! and he collected together the sayings of the Shaikh, which he had heard in the period of his discipleship, and named the collection "The Fawā'id-ul-Fawā'id." He wrote also many other works in prose and verse. Sadruddīn 'Alī, Fakhruddīn Kawās, Hamīd-ud-dīn Rājah, Maulānā 'Arif, 'Ubed Hakim and Shihāb Sadr-na-shīn were also poets of the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and they used to receive stipends on this account. Each of these had a special style of composition. The collections of their odes bear witness to their perfect beauty and art. There were also a few unrivalled historians. Among the Messiah-like physicians, the master physician Maulānā Badruddīn Damashki had such skill, that if any one brought to him the urine of a number of animals collected in a phial, he, by merely looking at it, was able to say that the urine of such and such animals had been mixed up in it. He was also a master of the secrets of mysticism, and of their examination and revelation. There were also a few astrologers and soothsayers, who might be described as masters of witchcraft in disclosing

the secrets of the mind, and of future events. There were also so many reciters of the *Qurān* and of odes, and other masters of the joyous art and men of other arts, that they cannot be enumerated in this brief work.

After the reign of Sultān 'Alāuddin had been prolonged, and his success and grandeur had reached a high point, owing to the rule that all things after arriving at perfection fall to decay, and every beginning necessarily has an end, he began to do such things as became the cause of the downfall of his empire and of the destruction of his greatness. Among these were this, that he became so enamoured and infatuated with the beauty of Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazār-dinārī, that he resigned the reins of power completely into the latter's hand; so that in matters of state he never neglected to attend to his wishes, nor did he ever swerve from his advice however injudicious it might be. Another thing was this, that he removed his young sons from the *haramkhāna*, in the women's apartments in the palace, before they could do without the supervision of guardians and the control of governors; and at the same time did not take any steps for the improvement of their character. He conferred a canopy on Khizir Khān and declared him to be the heir-apparent before any rectitude could be perceived in his disposition, and he did not appoint any wise and experienced noblemen to look after him, who might in the beginning prevent him from indulging, in excess, in pleasures and sensuality. It so happened, that while the Sultān was ill, he gave permission to Khizir Khān to go to the district of Amroha, on an excursion of hunting and pleasure; and told him, that he would send for him, as soon as he recovered. Khizir Khān had made a vow, that as soon as the Sultān should recover, he would come on foot, on a pilgrimage to [the tombs of] the saints of Dehli. When he heard a report of the Sultan's recovery, before the command for his return could issue, he came on foot and bare-footed to Dehli on the pilgrimage. Malik Nāib, who had begotten the lust of empire in his head, and was endeavouring to extirpate the Sultān's progeny, reported to the latter, that Khizir Khān had formed a wicked design; and had returned, without waiting for permission. In this way, he induced the Sultān to send Khizir Khān to the fort of Gwalior. After a time the Sultān was attacked by dropsy, and the disease became



worse from day to day. At this time he summoned Malik Nāib from Deogr; and Alp Khān from Gujrāt. After they had come to the capital, the former, owing to the enmity which he had against the latter, deceived the Sultān with absurd but specious representations, and induced him to order his execution. Shortly after this, the Sultān expired.

*Couplet.*

Some breaths he counted; and he dust became.

Time laughed at this, and said, he too is gone!

Some say Malik Nāib poisoned him. God knows all. He reigned for a period of twenty years and a few months.

SULTĀN SHIHĀBUDDĪN, YOUNGER SON OF SULTĀN 'ALĀUDDĪN  
KHALJI.

Malik Naib called together the Amirs and the great officers of state, on the second day, after the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn; and produced a writing of the latter, to the effect that he had made Sultān Shihābuddīn his successor; and had superseded Khizir Khān. The former was accordingly placed on the throne, and Malik Nāib employed himself in performing the duties of the Regent. On the very first day he sent Malk Sambhal to Gwalior, with instructions to go there, and to draw the pencil across the eyes of Khizir Khān and his brother Shādi Khān, and promised to make him the *barhak* (the master of ceremonies) in return for the service. The ungrateful wretch accepted the task and made the two lights of Sultān 'Alāuddīn's eyes (i.e. his two sons) blind. The mother of Khizir Khān who was called Malkah-i-Jahān was imprisoned, and all the money and other valuables, as well as the gold which she possessed, was taken away from her. Prince Mubārak Khān, who afterwards became Sultān Kutbuddīn, was confined in his house. Malik Nāib intended to have him blinded also, but as it was destined otherwise, he was not permitted to carry out his nefarious design. Every day, for a short time, he brought the infant Sultān Shihābuddīn on the terrace of the hazār-satun (thousand column) palace and placed him on the throne there, and directed the Amirs, great officers, chamberlains and ushers to stand in line before him, and to do homage to him. When the levee was over, the infant Sultān was sent to his mother inside the *haram*. Malik Kafur used then to go into a pavilion,

which he had set up on the terrace of the palace, and used to play, with a few eunuchs, who were his confidants, a game called Turi<sup>1</sup> (which was something like backgammon or dice), and he used always to plot with his special friends how to destroy Sultân's 'Alāuddīn's progeny. It so happened that a band of the old paiks, whose duty it was to guard the hazārsatun, entered into a conspiracy, exactly thirty-five days after Sultân 'Alāuddīn's death, and one night, after the people had left the royal palace, and the doors had been locked, entered the pavilion and slew Malik Nāib and his companions.

*Couplet.*

If evil thou hast done, for good hope not ;  
For ne'er the tamarisk doth bear the grape.  
Oh thou ! that in autumn did but barley sow ;  
Hope not, at harvest time, rich wheat to reap.

They brought prince Mubārak Khān from the prison, and made him the Regent of Sultân Shihābuddīn, in place of Malik Nāib. Mubārak Khān carried on the duties of the Regent for a time, and by his attention to the affairs of government brought the Amīrs and Maliks over to his side. When two months had elapsed he ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Sultân Khutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh. He sent Sultân Shihābuddīn to Gwāliar. He also dispersed the paiks who had slain Malik Nāib, and whose hearts had become filled up with pride and arrogance, and sent them to the different towns in the neighbourhood ; and he had their chiefs, who had become old, executed.

*Couplet.*

That weed with fire should be burnt,  
From which a thorn some heart doth reach.

At the time when the descendants of Sultân 'Alāuddīn were being destroyed and his offspring cut off, they asked Shaikh Bashīr Dewānah, who was one of the 'absorbed,' " Ah master ! what is this, that is happening ?" He said : " As 'Alāuddīn destroyed the children of his uncle and benefactor, the same thing is happening to him also."

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the game is given as Belmurhui or something like that in the 11th. ed., and Serhin, Turi, Paiwandi respectively in the three MSS.

*Couplet.*

For every good a good, for every ill an ill, reck'ning there is ;  
For every deed that's done, the universe a recompense  
provides !

His rule lasted for three months and a few days.

SULTÂN KUTBUDDÎN MUBÂRAK SHAH, SON OF SULTÂN 'ALÂUDDÎN  
KHALJÎ.

When in the year 717 A.H.,<sup>1</sup> Sultân Kutbuddin sat on the throne at Delhi, he conferred the title of Zafar Khân on Malik Dînâr, the keeper of the elephants ; that of Sher Khân on Muhammad Moulâi his own uncle ; and that of Sadr Jahân on Maulânâ Ziâ-uddin, son of Maulânâ Bahâuddin, the calligraphist. He distinguished Malik Karâ Beg, by allowing him to be near himself ; and he distributed the various high offices among the Amîrs in correspondence with the condition of each. He specially honoured a young Parwârî,<sup>2</sup> who had been brought up by Malik Shâdî, Nâib Khân Hajib of Sultân 'Alâuddin, and conferred the title of Khusru Khân on him. Parwârî is the name of a caste of the menial class, who are found in large numbers in Gujrât. Owing to the great affection which the Sultân felt for this man, he made over the whole of Malik Shâdî's retainers to him ; and as he was madly infatuated with him, he appointed him to the post of Vazir, although the qualifications for the position could not be found in him.

*Couplet.*

If you for a well-adorned kingdom wish,  
Entrust not, to one new risen, duties high.  
If you wish not thy greatness to destroy,  
Give not great work to one who work hath never done.

He became fond of him to such distraction, that he could not be without him for one moment.

<sup>1</sup> This date is incorrect. Zia Barni has 717 A.H. as the year of Sultân Kutbuddin Mubârak Shah's accession, and he has been followed by Nizâm-uddin as well as Badâûni and Ferishtah. The correct date 716 A.H. is given in Amîr Khusru's *masnawî* (poem) called the Nuhsipehir. The Târikh-i-Mubârak Shâhî fixes the date as the 20th Muharram 716 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> This word is given as Parwâz in the lith. ed., and as Barão or Parão in

In short, the disturbances which had occurred, after the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, were suppressed after the accession of Sultān Kutbuddīn; and repose and contentment appeared among men. As the new Sultān was young and good-natured and kind-hearted, and had endured the sufferings of imprisonment, and the fear of imminent death, he issued an order on the first day of his reign for the release of prisoners, and for the return of men who had been banished. He also granted a reward equal to six months' pay to the whole army, and increased the stipends of the Amirs and Maliks. He passed an order that the petitions of all suppliants should be submitted to him, a practice which had become obsolete for a long time, and orders were passed in accordance with the requests and prayers contained in them. The stipends and allowances to learned, pious, and other deserving men were increased. The villages, which in the time of Sultān 'Alāuddīn had been annexed to the crown lands, were restored to their owners, and the high rents, and exorbitant demands which became customary at that time, were all abolished. The generous treatment which the Sultān accorded to the people made them happy and contented; and they had dirams and dinars in their purses again. At the same time the rules promulgated by Sultān 'Alāuddīn, each one of which had some purpose or object on which it was based, were abrogated. Although openly the use of wine was strictly prohibited, yet adultery and turbulence and crimes, and dissipation and debauchery, which had completely disappeared in the time of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, again made their appearance among the people. During the four years and four months that Sultān Kutbuddīn's reign extended, he did nothing but spend all his time in dissipation and in satisfying his desires and in making lavish gifts. During this time no disturbance occurred, which might cause trouble and hardship to the Sultān, nor any calamity that might endanger the happiness of the people.

As before this, Sultān 'Alāuddīn had summoned Alp Kūhan from Gujrāt, and as after that, disturbances and revolts had occurred there, Malik Kamāluddīn was sent there to suppress them; but he on

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the MSS. The name is Parwari in both Elliot and Thomas; though the latter gives it as the equivalent of پارواری Parwari. Parwaris are men of low caste, chiefly employed as watchmen, gatekeepers, porters, etc.

arrival there attained to martyrdom.<sup>1</sup> Owing to this, the rebels gathered greater strength. Sultān Ḳutbuddīn considered the suppression of the rebellion in Gujrāt the most urgent of his duties, and sent Ain-ul-Malk Multānī with a well-equipped army to that province. He arrived there; fought with the men who had created the disturbance; routed them; and brought Nahrwālah and all the cities in the province anew under subjection; and reduced the zamindārs to humility and obedience. After this Sultān Ḳutbuddīn married the daughter of Malik Dinār, and sent the latter to Gujrāt, after conferring on him the title of Zafar Khān. He, on arrival there, completely cleared the province of the thorns and weeds of the insurgents and rebels in the course of three or four months, so that no vestige of them remained. He obtained much gold from the Rajahs and Zamindārs of the province, and sent it to the Treasury.

After the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Harpal Deo, the son-in-law of Rām Deo,<sup>2</sup> had taken possession of the country of Deogīr. Sultān Ḳutbuddīn in the second year of his reign marched with his troops against that place; and he appointed the son of a slave, of the name of Shāhin, who had been called Bāwildā, and on whom he conferred the title of Wafā-i-Mulk, to be the regent at Dehli during his absence. After doing so, he advanced towards the Dakin. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Deogīr, Harpāl Deo and other Zamindārs, who had assembled together, being unable to withstand him dispersed [in different directions]. The Sultān remained at Deogīr for a short time, and sent a number of celebrated Amīrs and great Khāns in pursuit of Harpāl Deo. They performed the task assigned to them, and brought Harpāl Deo prisoner. He was flayed alive by order of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, and his head was suspended from the gate of Deogīr. The Sultān was delayed<sup>3</sup> there for some

<sup>1</sup> According to Ziā Barnī, Kamāluddīn Garg was sent to put down the revolt of Alp Khān in Gujrāt, but he was slain by the rebels (Elliot iii, 214).

<sup>2</sup> It is said, in Elliot iii, p. 215, that Harpāl Deo and Rām Deo had taken possession of Deogīr, but according to the Ṭabakat-i-Akbārī it was Harpāl Deo the son-in-law of Rām Deo who did so.

<sup>3</sup> The cause of the delay is not mentioned in the Ṭabakat-i-Akbārī except that it is said that it was due to باز ماندگی, which may be translated as want of preparation, but from the Tarikh-i-Firozshahi (Elliot iii, 215) it appears that the delay was due to the setting in of the rains.

time; and during that time the Marhatta country also was brought under subjection. The country of Deogir was entrusted to Malik Yek-lakhi, who was one of the 'Alâi slaves, and Marhat was divided in fiefs among the Amirs. A canopy and durbâsh was then conferred on *Khusrû Khân*, and he was nominated for the command of the army which was sent to M'âbar; and the Sultân himself returned towards Dehli. On the way, he was most of the time engaged in drinking and dissipation. During this time, owing to the great heedlessness and negligence of Sultân Kutbuddin and his constant indulgence in drink, a desire for rule entered the head of Malik Asaduddin who was a cousin of Sultân 'Alâuddin, and he entered into a conspiracy with some of the commanders of the army, and determined that after the Sultân should have passed Ghâti Sâgûn, and should have gone into the *haram*, at which time there would be no sentries or *pāiks* or any other guards near him, they would enter the *haram* and despatch him. It so happened, however, that that very night, when the Sultân would have passed Ghâti Sâgûn, one of the conspirators gave information to him of the state of things. The Sultân halted where he was, and ordered that Malik Asaduddin should be seized, and executed; and twenty-nine sons of Yagharsh *Khân* (father of Malik Asaduddin) who were at Dehli, and had no connection with the conspiracy, and some of whom were quite young, were all slain by order of the Sultân. When the Sultân arrived at Jhāin, he sent Shādî Kath, the commandant of the guards, to Gwalior, so that he might put *Khizir Khân*, Shādî *Khân* and Malik Shihābuddin, sons of Sultân 'Alâuddin, who had already been blinded, to death; and might take their families and children to Dehli. Sultân Kutbuddin always behaved ill to Shaikh Nizāmuddin Auliā, Al'Aziz (may his tomb be holy!), because *Khizir Khân* had been one of his disciples, and had always known him to be one of his well-wishers; and he always showed enmity towards him; and loosened his tongue in taunts against him.

*Couplets*

When God on one doth wish disgrace and shame to bring,  
He doth ever incline him to revile the good;  
And when, to hide the ill in one, he doth incline;  
That man he doth dispose the sin in others to hide.

When Sultān Ḳutbuddīn arrived in Dehli, and found Guj, and Dehli and all the country under subjection, and saw that all the Amirs and Maliks were humble, submissive and obedient to him, and there was no claimant left to the throne, the intoxication of wine, youth, and power produced vainglory in his heart, and he refused to consult with anyone in passing orders, or in the disposal of state affairs; nor did he listen to the words of any sincere well-wisher. If any one, actuated by a desire to serve him, made any representation to him which did not coincide with his own views, he at once rejected it, and loosened his tongue in derision and abuse of the counsellor; so that no one dared, even by a hint or a suggestion, to submit to him what he considered to be for his welfare. All his good qualities were changed into evil ones; and he began to act with violence and cruelty. Like his father, he began unjustly to imbrue his hand in blood. Among those of others, he ordered the execution of Zafar Khān, the feudatory of Gujrat, who was the pillar of his state, although he had committed no offence of any kind. After that, he ordered the execution of Shāhin, on whom he had conferred the title of Wafa-i-Mulk, without any cause whatever, simply at the instigation of the envious. He began to do other things, which were calculated to cause the destruction of his power, and to bring about the downfall of his empire. He frequently adorned himself with the garments and trinkets of women; and in that guise, appeared in public assemblies. He used to call ribald and dissolute women on the terrace of the Kiosk of a thousand pillars, and ordered them to treat, with great contumely, great nobles like 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni, and Malik Karā Beg, who held fourteen appointments, and others like them, and insult them with obscene pleasantries and jests. He also told them to do other indecent things, so that they came before men in a state of nudity, and used to befoul their garments. Owing to the enmity which Sultān Ḳutbuddīn had against his reverence Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā, he prevented people from going to his abode, and spoke disrespectfully and contemptuously of him. He also honoured the Shaikhzādah Jām, who was one of the Shaikh's enemies, by giving him special access to himself, and he brought Shaikh Ruknuddīn Multāni from Multān to show his hatred for the Shaikh.

After he had ordered Zafar Khān to be put to death, he sent Hisāmuddīn, who was a brother of Khusrū Khān, by the mother's side,<sup>1</sup> with a number of Amīrs and Maliks; and made all the retainers of Zafar Khān over to him. When he arrived in Gujrāt, he collected all the Barāos (or Parwāris), and wanted to rise in rebellion; but the Amīrs, who were with him, seized and imprisoned him, and sent him to Sultān Kutbuddīn. The latter, however, in order to please Khusrū Khān, who was his brother, released him at once; and honoured him with royal favours. This became another reason for the estrangement and fear of the Amīrs, and of the great officers of state. Malik Wahīduddīn Kureishī, who was noted for his bravery and ability, was, however, sent to Gujrāt in place of Hisāmuddīn; and he introduced rule and order into the province, which had been left in a condition of disorder and ruin all by the latter. Intelligence arrived at this time, that Malik Yaklakhi, the governor of Deogīr, had raised the standard of hostility; and had risen in revolt. The Sultān sent a number of great Amīrs, with a large army, for the destruction of Yaklakhi, and the suppression of the rebellion. They went, and by their able tactics they seized Malik Yaklakhi, and the other insurgents, who had been the cause of the disturbance, and brought them to Dehli. The Sultān ordered the nose and the ears of Malik Yaklakhi to be cut off and inflicted various punishments on his companions. Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī was then appointed to rule the province of Deogīr, and Malik Tājuddīn, the son of Khwājah 'Alāuddīn, the secretary, was appointed to be his assistant, and they were sent to that province. Malik Wahīduddīn was then summoned from Gujrāt; and the post of Vazīr and the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk were conferred on him.

When Khusrū Khān who was nominated for Ma'bar arrived there he found that the Rāys of the province had fled with all their treasures and valuables. He seized a hundred and odd elephants which they had to leave behind. There was a merchant

<sup>1</sup> A brother by the mother's side probably meant an uterine brother. In Elliot iii, p. 218, he is however said to have been the maternal uncle of Khusrū Khān, but it appears from a note that he is described in the original as برادر مادر, and elsewhere as برادر of Khusrū Khān.



of the name of Khwâjah Taki, who had much wealth, and who had not fled under the belief that, as it was a Musalmân army that was coming, he would not be injured in any way. He was however seized, and all his property was taken from him, and he was then killed. Khusru Khân spent the rainy season there, and owing to the baseness and recklessness, which were ingrained in his nature, the thought of rebellion entered his head, and he determined to kill the Amîrs who were with him, and set up an independent authority in Ma'bar. Malik Tamar, the governor of Chanderi, Malik Mal Afghân and Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah, who were the chief Amîrs, who had been deputed to Ma'bar, became aware of Khusru Khân's designs; and started for Delhi without giving any intimation to him. He, however, became frightened at the threatening language of the Amîrs, and started for Delhi and travelled by forced marches. The Amîrs named before put him in a pālki and sent him in seven days from Deogir to Delhi.<sup>1</sup> They fondly imagined that as they had shown so much anxiety for his welfare, they would receive many favours from the Sultân: but when Khusru Khân reached the royal threshold, and obtained a private audience, he made various complaints against them; and said "they have accused me of creating disturbances, and raising a rebellion, and are determined to procure my death. but as God has willed otherwise, I have escaped from their clutches, by various subterfuges." The Sultân who loved him, and was mad about him, took his lies to be truths, and was annoyed with the Amîrs; and when they arrived in Delhi, although they described Khusru Khân's nefarious designs, and produced witnesses to support their representations, it was all of no avail. The Sultân acted like a tyrant.

<sup>1</sup> The conduct of the Amîrs as described here was illogical. They are said to have started for Delhi (apparently to bring Khusru Khân's designs to the notice of the Sultân), and yet they sent him on ahead to tell his own story. Zira Barui gives a different and more probable version. According to him, the other Amîrs induced or forced Khusru Khân to return to Delhi, so that he might not go on hatching his plots. The Sultân was, however, so infatuated with his favourite, and was so anxious to see him, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter, and the minion was taken from Deogir to Delhi, in seven or eight days. Once in Delhi he, of course, had every thing his own way. (Elliot iii. 219-20.)

rejected all their representations, and directed that Malik Tamar should not be allowed to make his obeisance; and taking away the government of Chanderi from him, made it over to his son.<sup>1</sup> He also ordered that Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah should be struck on the mouth; and his sief was taken away from him and he was imprisoned. The witnesses were also punished. When the other Amīrs saw these high-handed proceedings of the Sultān, they became deaf and dumb, and although they were aware of Khusru Khān's deceit and treachery, they shut their eyes, and never breathed a word; but on the other hand, owing to their utter helplessness, they threw themselves under his protection.

*Couplets.*

When Fate all power to the wicked and sinful gave,  
It ruined alas! the treasures of the earth;  
The thrones of the mighty to the base did yield,  
Behold alas! what fruit at last it bore.

When Khusru Khān saw his enemies beaten and crushed, and knew that none of them would dare to speak ill of him to the Sultān, he girded up his loins, even more strongly than before, to proceed in the path of deceit and treachery, and determined to make an effort for the crown. One day he spoke thus in private to the Sultān, "When your majesty, owing to your great kindness to me, sends me at the head of your armies to distant provinces, to conquer them, the Amīrs who are sent with me have larger followings of their own tribe and clan with them (than I have), I am therefore compelled to submit to them. There are many Barāos of my clan and tribe in Gujrat. If your majesty permits it, I can also collect them, and can thus become a person of position." The Sultān acceded to his request, and granted him permission to send for the men of his own tribe. Khusru Khān, then, in a very short time, collected a large body of Barāos; and his power and grandeur were increased; and he became even more diligent than

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<sup>1</sup> According to Zia Barni, the sief of Chanderi was not conferred on Malik Tamar's son, but on the Parwāri boy, i.e. apparently on Khusru Khān himself. Malik Talbaghah Yaghdah was, according to the same authority, deprived of sight, as well beaten on the mouth &c. (see Chet. iii. 220)

before in his efforts for accomplishing his designs. He made Bahâ-uddin,<sup>1</sup> the secretary of the Sultân, whom the latter had dismissed and driven out, a friend and confederate; and associated with him other turbulent men, like the son of Qurah-i-Ķimâr and Yusuf Süft, and other similar men; and waited for an opportunity. At this time, the Sultân went on a hunting expedition in the direction of Sarsâwah. Khusru Khân and the Barâos wanted to assassinate the Sultân there. The son of Qurah-i-Ķimâr and Yusuf Süft forbade this, and said, "Let us suppose that we succeed in killing the Sultân while he is out hunting; it is quite likely that the troops with him would attack and slay us. It is best that, when the Sultân will be on the terrace of the Hazâr-satûn, where it is always possible to find him alone, we will come upon him suddenly, and slay him; and summoning the Amirs from their houses, keep them as hostages. If they submit to us so much the better, otherwise we can slay them also."

When the Sultân returned from the hunting expedition, he again occupied himself, according to his usual custom, with drink and dissipation.

*Couplets.*

With joyful heart he thence returned;  
From hill and wood to the feast returned,  
Oblivious of malicious fate,  
And what it had in store for him.

Khusru Khân having become more eager for the attainment of his object, said to the Sultân one night when they were alone together "I am always in attendance on your majesty, and I pass many nights in the Tiskhûnah. Some of my relations have come from Gujrat in hopes of a share of your majesty's kindness. They come to see me; but the palace gate-keepers refuse to admit them. Your majesty so order, they may be permitted to come into the palace." Then the Sultân ordered that the keys of the palace gate should be made over to Khusru Khân. The king said to him: "Who is there whom I trust more than I trust you and your brothers?"

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Tārîkh-i-Firoz Shâhî, the Sultân had quarrelled with this man about a woman.

reality the superintendence of the entire palace is in your hands." Khusru Khân took the delivery of the keys to him, as an auspicious omen, and as the happiest thing that could have happened ; and saw all his plans crowned with success.

*Couplets.*

When Firoz saw this state of things,  
That omen as proof of victory took ;  
His heart, in that auspicious sign,  
Although so strong, new strength did find.

In short, when the gate and indeed the whole palace came under the charge of the Barāos, that reckless and blood-thirsty body came, in large numbers with arms and weapons, and congregated day and night in the lower apartments occupied by Khusru Khân, and waited for the most suitable moment. Gradually Khusru Khân's designs became patent to all ; but every one knew also, that he was completely the master of the situation ; while they were totally helpless. No one dared to utter a word. One day Kāzi Zainuddin, who bore the title of Kāzī Khân, and was a man of much erudition, as well as of action, and who had been the Sultân's tutor in penmanship, made up his mind, if necessary, to sacrifice his own life ; and preferring the welfare of the country and of the people, to his own good, thus addressed the Sultân :—

*Couplets.*

"Oh mighty king ! may wisdom ever guide thy path,  
May victory be thy friend ; and thy foes be worsted all !  
May the Lord of the earth, the asylum of created things,  
Protect and save thee ! oh conqueror of the world.

We who have been brought up under your majesty and your majesty's father, and see the safety of the people in your majesty's well-being, if we should omit or neglect to tell you the truth, we should wrong ourselves, and God's creatures, as well as your majesty." Then he described the preposterous ambition, and the nefarious design of Khusru Khân, the multitude of the Barāos and their meeting every night in Khusru Khân's apartments, and said, "It behoves your majesty to enquire into this matter ; for if it is true,

then it is your majesty's duty to protect yourself; while if it is false, you can repose still greater confidence in Khusru Khân and his brothers." Although the Kâzi spoke such words, it was of no avail, and produced no good. On the other hand, the Sultân gave a harsh reply, and spoke hard words to him. And in the end, he saw what he saw.

*Couplets.*

The counsel of the wise should none neglect,  
Such counsel one in leaves should not fold up,<sup>1</sup>  
For, when time brings all things to its own test,  
Then will that counsel to your mind come back

After a time when Khusru Khân returned, to attend on the Sultân, the latter repeated to him all that he had heard from the Kâzi. That arch-hypocrite at once made a great show of shedding tears; and said: "Since your majesty shows me much favour and kindness, the high officers of the court are all consumed with jealousy, and are trying to destroy me. They will presently trump up a serious accusation against me, will prove it to your majesty's satisfaction, and will have me done to death." After this he wept piteously, and exclaimed: "Alas! I already see myself among the slain!" The tears of that dissembler affected the heart of the Sultân; he was unable to control himself; took him in his arms; wept in sympathy with him; gave him a few kisses on his lips and cheeks; and said: "If the whole world should unite and speak ill of thee, I will not lend my ears to what they will say; for love for thee has made me independent of the world; and without thee, the world is as nothing in my eyes."

*Couplet.*

"My love for thee will never leave this head, oh friend!  
This head may go, but thy love will never leave this head!"

When a part of the night had passed, and the Amîrs, who were not required to be on duty, had left the palace; and Kâzi Zainuddîn, whose duty it was always to guard it, had come down from the terrace of the Hazâr Satun, and was engaged in examining the

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this line, in the original, is obscure.

different gates, and the sentries; and no one was left in attendance on the Sultân except *Khusru Khân*, a number of *Barâos* entered the palace with daggers concealed under their arms. *Randhol* the uncle of *Khusru Khân* went up to *Kâzî Zainuddin*, engaged him in conversation, and gave him a *birah* of betel-leaf. The hand of death made the *Kâzî* careless, when, a *Barâos* of the name of *Jahariâ*, who was determined to assassinate him, came to his side and wounded him with his dagger. The *Kâzî* called out and could only utter these words, "Their treachery has been discovered." The people made an outcry. When the Sultân heard the noise, he said to *Khusru Khân*, "What noise is this?" *Khusru Khân* went out; and returning said, "The horses in the stables have got loose, and are fighting among themselves." At this time *Jahariâ*, who was the uncle of *Khusru Khân*, came to the palace (apparently the apartments occupied by the Sultân) of the *Hazâr Satun*, after slaying *Ibrâhim* and *Is-hâk* who were specially entrusted with the duty of guarding it. The Sultân became cognizant of the state of things at last, jumped up and ran towards the *haram*. *Khusru Khân* ran after him and caught him by the hair, and the two struggled with each other, and the Sultân threw him down, and sat on his chest. At this time *Jahariâ* came up; inflicted a wound on the Sultân's side with his blood-thirsty dagger; threw him down on the ground; cut off the poor man's head; and flung it down from the terrace.

*Couplets.*

That traitorous alligator, like a raging beast  
 Attacked that hero of a stature high,  
 It gave him such a wound upon his side  
 That the earth incarnadined was, like a tulip bed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following passage occurs here, in MS. A. but not in MSS. B and C; or in the lithographed edition: "It is mentioned in the *Tarikh-i Alf* that when Sultân Kutbuddin became aware of the deceit and treachery of *Khusru Khân*, of which he had not been aware till now, he hastened at once towards his *haram sarâi*, and the perfidious *Khusru Khân* ran up to him and caught him by the hair of his head, and the Sultân turning round, threw him down under himself, as usual. At this time *Jahariâ* came up and *Khusru Khân* called out, Come and help me, and *Jahariâ* struck the Sultân on the side with his sword, and having killed him flung down his head."

When the people saw the Sultān's head every one went to a corner (i.e. kept aloof) and the noise ceased. A large number of men who were present in the palace were massacred that night. When the Barāos had finished with the Sultān, Randhol and Jahariā with a few others went into the *haram*, and brutally dragged away Princes Farid Khān and Mangu Khān, who were sons of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, from their mothers, and slew them. There was great tumult in the *haram*, and the Barāos stretched out their arms for plunder and seized whatever they could lay hands upon.

*Couplet.*

Thus passed away that imperial throne, and that great power !  
Time did it all destroy, and raze it to the ground !

After a time, when they had finished the massacre of the princes, they kept Malik 'Ain-ul Mulk Multānī, Malik Wahiduddīn Kuraishi, Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, who afterwards became known as Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, and the sons of Kīrān Beg. and other great Amīrs whom they had summoned that night, under a guard, on the terrace of the Hazār Satun, and by the morning a large number of Barāos and other associates of Khusru Khān collected round them. When the morning dawned, [Khusru Khān] sent for the great officers and the learned men of the city, and had the Khutbah read in his own name. He ascended the throne and assumed the title of Sultān Nāsiruddīn. He then, by means of various tricks and subterfuges, got into his power some of the celebrated Amīrs, of whose hostility he was afraid, and ordered them to be put to death. He made over the family, and property, of the murdered Kāzi Zīāuddīn to Randhol, but the wife of the Kāzi saved herself by flight. He conferred the title of *Kāzī-i-Khānān* on his own brother Hisamuddīn, that of *Rāy-i-Rāyān* on Rāndhol, and that of 'Āzām-ul-Mulk on the son of Kūrah-i-Ḳimār.<sup>1</sup> Among the Amīrs of Sultān Ḳutbuddīn, he conferred the title of 'Ālām Khān

<sup>1</sup> His name according to the *Tarikh-i-Firozshāhī* was Bahaiddīn, and he seems therefore to be identical with the dismissed *dabīr* or secretary of Sultān Kutbuddīn. According to the same authority 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī on whom the title of 'Ālām Khān was conferred, had no connection with the usurper. The title was given to him to keep up a delusive show (see Elliot iii, 224).

or 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multânî, and having entrusted the office of Vazir to Malik Tâj-ul-Mulk Wahduddîn Kuraishi, he confirmed his sons in their high offices. He had Jahariâ the murderer of Sultân Kutbuddîn dressed in pearls and gems and raised him in rank by granting him various favours. He distributed the wives of Sultân Kutbuddîn among the Barâos; and himself took his [principal] wife.<sup>1</sup>

*Couplets.*

Oh earth ! if blessings thou dost want, bear not ;  
If they go wrong, what good for thee to bear.  
Whose secret power is strongest, I know it now.  
And on thy open deed I must ever weep.<sup>2</sup>

As most of the Barâos were Hindus, the Musalman religion was overthrown, and the manners and customs of the Hindus acquired currency and renown. Idolatry and the destruction of mosques became common. Khusru Khân squandered much money in order to gain the hearts of the people, and spent the money in most of the treasuries in gifts and presents. As Ghâzi Malik was one of the grandees of Sultân 'Alâuddîn, and had hosts of retainers, and was the chieftain of a tribe, and held the fief of Dibâlpur; and Malik Fakhruddîn Jûnâ, his son, was adorned with bravery, liberality, and generosity and was one of the 'Alâi Amîrs, Khusru Khân considered it his most important duty to bring these over to his side; and was always thinking what he could do to bring this about. He accordingly conferred the post of master of the horse on Mâlik Fakhruddîn Jûnâ and endeavoured in every way to please him; and he also asked Ghâzi Malik to come to Delhi. The latter, brave and God-fearing man of worth as he was, was fired with hatred; and girded himself with the girdle of energy, to avenge the blood of the sons of his patron; and sent letters and messages to the Amîrs of the neighbouring districts, and exerted himself to destroy the ungrateful

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<sup>1</sup> The two words which have been translated wives and [principal] wife are *ḥawā* and *ḥawāṣ*. The former may mean the ladies of the royal family generally. The principal wife appears to have been Deval Debi, the Hindu princess, who had successively been the wife of Khizr Khân and Sultân Kutbuddîn.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of these lines is not at all clear.



wretch. At this time Malik Fakhruddin Jūnā escaped one night from Delhi, and, by rapid marches, took the way to Dībālpur. Khusrū Khān woke up from his sleep of carelessness; and grieved at this sign of the approach of the downfall of his greatness. He despatched the son of Kurah-i-Kimar, who was the muster-master of the kingdom, with other noted Amirs in pursuit of Malik Fakhruddin Jūnā. They pursued him as far as the town of Sarsuti and then returned. Ghāzi Malik had a few days before this left two hundred horsemen in the fortress of Sarsuti, and had repaired and strengthened it, in anticipation of such a day. Malik Fakhruddin Jūnā took some of the horsemen with him, and arrived in Dībālpur. His father was delighted at his coming and ordered the drum of joy to be beaten; and having girded up his loins more strongly, to avenge [the wrongs of his patron's family] busied himself with equipping his army; and determined entirely to root out the Barāos.

Khusrū Khān sent his brother whom he had named the Khān-i-Khānān, and on whom he now conferred a canopy and a Durbāgh, and Yusuf Sufi to whom he granted the title of Sufi Khān, with other men whom he trusted, and who were devoted to him, against Ghāzi Malik. At this juncture Malik Bahrām Abth, who was the governor of Uchch and Multān, entered the service of Ghāzi Malik with a well-appointed army with the object of punishing the ungrateful wretches. When Khusrū Khān's army came near, Ghāzi Malik also advanced to meet that despicable band, and after a conflict and battle, was crowned with success and victory. Khusrū Khān's brother and Yusuf Khān barely escaped with their lives, by flight; and returned to Delhi; and the whole of the army and the paraphernalia of state fell into Ghāzi Malik's hands. The latter became emboldened, and filled with new hope, by this victory; and equipped his army (anew) for the destruction of that God-forsaken wretch; and advanced to Delhi. The ingrate Khusrū Khān having done his utmost in collecting men by squandering money, came out of the city, and assembled his army in the plain near the 'Alāi reservoir; and made an advance of two years' and a half's pay to his men. At this time, 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī who was one of his great nobles fled towards Ujain and Dhār. This increased Khusrū Khān's mortification, and added to his confusion. Then in the neighbourhood of Indarpath the bands of the righteous and of the

iquitous met. Right prevailed over wrong, and Khusru Khān as defeated. Malik Talbagha Nāgori and the son of Kurah-i-Kimār, who had received the title of Shāista Khān, and who were the mainstays of the power of the wretched Khusru Khān, were killed, and Khusru Khān, having with great bravery and courage<sup>1</sup> fought to the end of the day, fled to Tilpat. His canopy, standard, and army fell into Ghāzi Malik's hands. Khusru Khān turned back from Tilpat in utter panic, perplexity and loneliness; and entering a garden of Malik Shādī, who had been his first patron, concealed himself there. The next day he was brought before Ghāzi Malik, and was executed.

*Couplets.*

The tree that thou hadst reared, hath borne its fruit,  
That fruit thou now dost see thy eyes before.  
If it is but a thorn, thou *that* didst plant!  
If softest silk, it is that thou didst grow!

The high and low of the city hastened to welcome Ghāzi Malik and congratulated him; and offered him felicitations on his victory. The next day he rode from Inderpath to the Kiosk of Sirī, and sat with the grandees and the high officers of state in the Hazār Satun, and performed rites of mourning for Sultān Kutbuddīn, and his sons, and wept, and made lamentations. After that he raised his voice and said, "I have been brought up under the beneficence of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and Sultān Kutbuddīn; and in gratitude for their benefactions, and not on account of any greed for rank or wealth, have I drawn my sword against their enemies, and have avenged their wrongs. Now you who are present in this assembly do you know of any offspring of theirs that may be still in existence. If so bring him forward, so that we may place him on the throne and we will all stand, with girded loins, before him, and render him service. If there is no descendant of theirs left, (select) any one whom you may deem to be fit to sit on the throne, and to rule the kingdom; and I am ready to serve him." The great men who

<sup>1</sup> The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāhī gives a very different account of Khusru Khān's behaviour. It says, "The effeminate wretch could not bear the attack of men. He fled, and, leaving his army, he took the road to Tilpat." Elliot iii. 127-8. That Nizam-ud-din Ahmed could give his just due to a man like Khusru Khān shows what a judicial temper he had.

were in the assembly all said, "No sons of either of the two kings are now alive. Thou hast withstood the attacks of the Mughals since a long time, and hast made thyself the shield of all the people of Hindustan and hast established a great claim on them. Now that thou hast again done this great deed, and hast avenged thy benefactors on their enemies, this is a further claim that thou hast on the gratitude of the nobles, and commons of the land. There is no one fitter than thee for sovereignty and for supreme command." They said this, and taking Qhāzī Malik by the hand placed him on the throne, and gave him the title of Sultān Ghīā-suddīn Tuḡhlak Shāh; and nobles and commons offered homage to him.

*Couplets.*

Th' auspicious king, th' destroyer of his foes,  
That under omens good the throne did ascend;  
With victory and with success adorned,  
A joyance new did he in the world produce.

SULTÂN GHĪĀSUDDĪN TUḠHLAK SHĀH.

Sultān Ghīā-suddīn ascended the throne in the Green Kiosk the year A.H. 720, and made proclamations of justice and beneficence. Disturbances which had been awakened fell asleep again; and a new glory appeared in the government of the land. In a week, he so arranged all affairs of state, as would not have been possible for others in the course of years.

May that auspicious tree bear richest fruit,  
Under whose shade may one in comfort live;  
Now with its fruit, it doth the table deck;  
Now with its shade, it soothes the tired limbs.

Wherever he found any of the remaining members of the family and descendants of Sultān 'Alauddīn and Sultān Kutbuddīn, he gladdened their hearts with stipends and pensions. He punished those who had taken any part in bringing about the marriage of the widow of Sultān Kutbuddīn with Khusrū Khān. He granted favours to the Amīrs and Maliks of Sultān Kutbuddīn, and increased their salaries; and confirmed their fiefs; and distributed the high offices of the empire among them. He treated Khwājah Khatīr, and

Malik Anwar Juneidi, and Khwājah Muhazzab Buzurg, who had always possessed the confidence of former Bādshāhs, with great consideration; and granted them permission to sit in his assemblies, and consulted them about the laws and rules which previous Sultāns had framed for securing the stability of their empires, and for regulating the affairs of the people; and he acted in accordance with such laws and rules. He abstained from all acts which might cause injury and trouble to the people. He promoted to high rank any one in whom he found any trace of loyalty and devotion, and very soon distinguished with his royal favours any one who performed any worthy service. In matters of government he acted with moderation, and refrained from all kinds of excesses.

He granted to Sultān Muḥammad, whose countenance was marked with the signs of greatness, the title of Ulugh Khān, conferred a canopy on him, and declared him to be the heir to the throne. Among the other princes he conferred the title of Bahrām Khān on one, of Zafar Khān on the second, of Mahmūd Khān on the third, and of Nasrat Khān on the fourth. He granted the title of Kashlu Khān on Bahrām Abī whom he called his brother, and entrusted him with the fief of Multān and the whole country of Sind. He made his nephew (brother's son) Malik Asaduddīn, the Bārbak, and Bahāuddīn, the son of his sister, the Ariz-i-Mumalik, and confirmed the fief of Sāmānah on him. He entrusted the direction of the office of the Vazārat on Malik Shādi, who was his brother and son-in-law. He granted the title of Tātār Khān, and the fief of Zafarābād, to one whom he had called his son. The office of the Vazīr of Deogir he conferred on Malik Burhānuddīn the father of Kutluḡ Khān, and that of chief judge on Ḳāzi Saḍruddīn. The office of the Ḳāzi of Delhi was entrusted to Ḳāzi Samāuddīn. The deputy muster mastership of Gujrāt was granted to Malik Tājuddīn Ja'far. The other appointments were also distributed according to the qualifications of the various claimants. No office was conferred on any one, until the Sultān had first ascertained his qualifications for it. He did not leave able men without employment.

In fixing the revenue of the various territories, he acted with moderation; and did not listen to the words of those who made high offers. If any one forcibly realized from his Jagir more than was fixed, the Sultan objected to, and cancelled, the transaction. If

any one deducted any amount from the revenue payable by him, on account of payments to his retainers, and the amount did not reach the latter, he was punished, and the amount was recovered from him. The Sultan resumed the sums which *Khusru Khān* had bestowed on various persons, in his time of distress and perplexity, and caused it to be paid into the Treasury. Any one who delayed in the payment of these amounts suffered from his anger and severity. On many occasions, he sent for the notables and common people and conferred rewards on every one of them, according to their positions and their just claims. Whenever a letter announcing a victory came from any part of his dominions or the nuptials of any of the princes took place, or a child was born in his family, he gave rewards to all the Judges, and the high officers, and the learned men, and Shaikhs, and nobles, according to their circumstances. He kept himself acquainted with the conditions of those who lived in retirement, and showed kindness to them; and whenever he heard that any one in the kingdom was in poverty and distress, he busied himself in removing it.

*Couplets.*

When fortune with that king was joined,  
 She laughed and blossomed like the rose.  
 He opened the door of his treasury;  
 His soldiers were with gold and gems enriched.

He sent once every month for his children, and dependants, and officers, and ministers, and enquired about them, and if he found that any of them was in distress or want, he remedied it. He adopted the methods introduced by Sultan 'Alauddin, in respect of the descriptive rolls of the troopers, and the branding of horses; and the prices and examination of the latter and of the maintenance of retainers. Out of the amount which the soldiers had received from *Khusru Khān*, he granted a year's pay to them, and the balance was entered in the register of advances against their names, and orders were passed that this sum was to be gradually recovered from their salaries for future years. He resumed the stipends, allowances and endowments which Sultān Kutbuddīn had improperly granted through his carelessness and infatuation; and granted them to really deserving persons. The

equity and justice of Sultān Tuġhlak Shāh produced an equality among the people, and even the names of turbulence and disaffection disappeared. He shut the doors against the incursions of the Mughals in such a way that during the whole of his reign they never felt any hankering for the invasion of Hindustān. He had a great desire for the erection of splendid buildings. He ordered the foundation of the fort of Tuġhlakābād and of other edifices. He was a virtuous man and possessed charming attributes, and he strictly complied with all the directions and prohibitions of religion; and spent much of his time in devotion. He kept up at nights, and persevered in supererogatory devotion. He had no hankering for intoxicants, and was emphatic in prohibiting the use of wine. His behaviour towards his domestics, slaves, old servants, and dependants was in no way different, during the period of his sovereignty, from what it had been at the time when he was a simple Malik.

In the year 721 A.H., he sent Sultān Muhammad, who had the title of Ulugh Khān, with some of his own old officers, and all the renowned nobles, to Arangal. The latter departed in that direction with a vast army, and with great pomp and grandeur. When he reached Deogir, he took the nobles who were there with him, and marched rapidly till he arrived in the country of Tilang and ravaged and plundered it. Rai Rudar Deo and the other Rays of the neighbourhood shut themselves up in the fort of Arangal. Ulugh Khān began to erect battering-rams, and to run mines, round it. Every day many people were killed in both sides. At last when the army of Ulugh Khān made a determined attack and the fall of the citadel became imminent, Rai Rudar Deo sent ambassadors to Sultān Muhammad (i.e. Ulugh Khān); and offered him riches, and elephants and precious gems; and also promised that he would send the same tribute, in future years, that he used to send to Sultān 'Alāuddīn. Ulugh Khān did not accept these terms, and made such vigorous exertions for the capture of the citadel, that it was on the point of being taken [when the following events happened] It had been arranged that messengers should come from Dehli, twice a week, by *dak chowki*, and should bring intelligence of everything being safe. It happened however that for a whole month no intelligence came. Owing to the roads being unsafe,

the *dak chowki* had become disorganized. 'Ubaid the poet and the Shaikh-Zāda-i-Damashki who were the source of all mischief and trouble, but who had gained access to Ulugh Khān, spread a false report of the death of Sultān Ghīāsuddīn Tuġhlak Shāh, in Dehli; and of an usurper having seized the thrones. Owing to this rumour great confusion found its way among the soldiers. 'Ubaid the poet and the Shaikh-Zāda-i-Damashki held a secret meeting with Malik Tamar, Malik Tigīn, Malik Mal Afghān, and Malik Kāfur, the keeper of the seal, and told them that as Ulugh Khān considered them to be among the great Malikis of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, and as such as entitled to a share of the empire, he had determined that he would have them all seized and executed. They were alarmed on hearing this; and a great panic fell on the soldiers. Each one did what came into his head and fled. Ulugh Khān started in great perplexity for Deogīr, with some of his special retainers. The men in the citadel came out, plundered the rear of the army, and slew a large number of the soldiers.

In the meantime, the *dak chowki*, which in the language of the people was called *ālāgh*, was reorganized, and messengers came from Dehli with the intelligence that Sultān Ghīāsuddīn Tuġhlak Shāh was seated on the throne of Dehli, in health and safety. Ulugh Khān, on reaching Deogīr, reassembled his dispersed forces. The four nobles who had deserted together from the army, separated from one another, and their retinues and servants were slain; and their arms and accoutrements fell into the hands of the zamindārs. Malik Tamar with a few men went among the zamindārs, and there perished. The Hindus slew Malik Tigīn, the Governor of Audh, and sent his skin to Ulugh Khān. They also seized Malik Mal Afghān, 'Ubaid the poet, and the other man who had created the disturbance, and sent them to Ulugh Khān in Deogīr; and the latter sent them to his father in Dehli. The members of their families and their dependants had already been seized in Dehli. Sultān Ghīāsuddīn sat in state, in public, in the plain of Sīrī; and ordered that 'Ubaid the poet, and the other turbulent men, should be impaled alive, and that the members of their families and their dependants should be thrown under the feet of elephants. Ulugh Khān arrived in Dehli after this; and was made happy by his father conferring many favours on him.

After four months, Sultân Ghīāsuddīn again sent Ulugh Khān to Arangal with a grand retinue and an immense army. *This time* Ulugh Khān advanced into the Tilang country and seized the fort of Bidar, as well as the commandant of the garrison. He then advanced to Arangal, besieged it, and in a short time captured the outer as well as the inner fort. He seized the Rays of the country with their families and retainers, and obtained possession of their elephants, goods, and treasures. He sent a letter announcing the victory, and that letter was read from the pulpits in Dehli, Sirt and Tughlakābad. The people erected domes and made rejoicings. Rai Rudar Deo was sent to Dehli with his elephants and treasures under the escort of Malik Bidār who had the title of Qadr Khān and Khwājah Hāji, the Deputy Muster-master of the Empire. The name of Arangal was changed to Sultānpur; and the whole country of Tilang was brought under control, and governors and other officers were appointed. Ulugh Khān then realized a year's tribute; and went to the country of Jainagar. He captured forty elephants there, and sent them for the service of the Sultān.

After Arangal and the country round it had been subjugated, and Sultān Ghīāsuddīn had become successful in all directions, some of his well-wishers<sup>1</sup> made representations to him of the tyranny, and oppression, and misbehavior of the rulers of Bangālah; and incited and induced the Sultān to invade Lakhnauti. The Sultān having resolved upon the invasion sent for Ulugh Khān from Arangal, and leaving him as Regent, at Dehli, marched with an immense army, and great pomp and eclat, toward Lakhnauti. As the fame of Sultān Tughlak Shāh's courage and bravery had spread all over the country, as soon as his great shadow was cast on the country of Tirhut, Sultān Nāsiruddīn, the ruler of Lakhnauti, and other Rays and Zamindārs, who ruled in that country, came forward to meet him, and offered him homage. The Sultān sent Tātār Khān, whom he had honoured with the name of son, and who had been entrusted with the government of Zafarābād, with a large army, in advance. The latter brought the whole of the country under subjection. He brought Sultān Bahādur Shāh, the ruler of Sunārgām, who had

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tārīkh-i-Feroz Shāhī* these men were certain noblemen who came from Lakhnauti itself (see Elliot iii, p. 234).



offered some resistance, with a chain round his neck; and he sent all the elephants which had been taken in the course of the expedition into the Sultān's elephant stables. An immense quantity of other booty was acquired. The Sultān conferred a canopy and a *durbash* on Sultān Nāsiruddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti, who had sworn allegiance to him, and sent him again to Lakhnauti. Sunār-gām was absorbed into the empire. The letter announcing the conquest of Lakhnauti was read in Dehli, and domes were erected and rejoicings made. The Sultān, crowned with victory and renown, returned towards Dehli, and leaving the army behind marched rapidly, converting two stages into one.

When Ulugh Khān heard that his father was coming back by rapid marches he ordered that a pavilion should be erected near Afghānpur, which is three karohs from Tughlakābād, in the course of three days. So that when the Sultān arrived there, he might halt and pass the night in it, and the citizens might come there to welcome him, and render him service. Then when the morning would break, he would start for the capital, at an auspicious moment, with imperial pomp and grandeur. When the Sultān arrived in the pavilion, there were rejoicings in Tughlakābād, and triumphal domes were erected. Ulugh Khān accompanied by the Maliks and Amīrs and the great men of the city went out to meet him; and were honoured with the permission to do him homage. The Sultān entered the pavilion, with the people who had come out to meet him; and a table was spread. When the food had been taken away and the men thought that the Sultān would mount at once, they came out without washing their hands. The Sultān remained there, to wash his hands. At this moment the roof of the pavilion fell in, and the Sultān fell under it, and was united with the Divine mercy. His reign extended to a period of four years and a few months.

It has been stated in some histories, that as the pavilion had been newly erected, and had not set properly, and the elephants which Sultān Tughlak Shāh had brought with him, from Bangālah, were driven round it, the ground subsided and the roof fell in. It cannot however remain hidden from the minds of the intelligent, that the erection of the pavilion, for which there was no necessity whatever, creates a suspicion that Ulugh Khān encompassed his father's death. It is evident that the author of the "Tārīkh-i-Firoz

Shāhī," which was written in the reign of Sultān Firoz, who had great regard for Sultān Muhammad, was reticent about the matter, out of regard for the reigning monarch. The humble writer has heard this repeatedly from trustworthy persons, and it is well known, that as Sultān Tuḡhlak was displeased with his reverence Shaikh Nizām-uddīn Aulīā, he sent a message to the latter, telling him to leave Dehli, by the time he would himself arrive there; and the Shaikh said, "Dehli is far off yet." These words have become proverbial among the people of Hindustan. It is also well known, that Sultān Muhammad had great faith in, and unbounded respect for, the Shaikh. But knowledge is in God! The same year Shaikh Nizām-uddīn—may his grave be holy!—and Amīr Khusrū departed from this troublous bodily existence to the world of spirits

## SULTÂN MUHAMMAD TUḠHLAK SHĀH.

He was the son and heir of Sultān Ghiasuddīn Tuḡhlak. After his father's death, he ascended the throne at Tuḡhlakābād. He remained at that place for a period of forty days, to arrange all matters connected with the government of the empire; and for the selection of an auspicious moment. After that he sat on the throne of the ancient kings in the old palace, according to the usual custom; and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh. They sounded the drum of joy in the city, and erected domes; and adorned the markets, and the lanes. At the time when he entered the capital, such large quantities of gold and silver tangāhs were scattered over his canopy, as had never been done in any other age. Sultān Muhammad was one of the wonders of the creation; an embodiment of contradictory qualities. At one time he wanted to conquer the seven climes like Alexander; at another he exerted his energy to bring *jins* as well as men within the circle of his rule; and again he felt a longing to combine earthly with spiritual rule; so that he might in his own person pass both temporal and spiritual decrees. He was very strict in the observance of fasts and prayers; and in the performance of acts of supererogatory devotion, and of piety; and in giving stipends and alms. He completely refrained from all prohibited things, and intoxicants; and from everything else to which the name of sin might be applied. (On the other hand) he was

so severe in his punishments, and in unjustly shedding blood, and in troubling and tormenting the creatures of God, that he appeared to be bent upon emptying the world of all human beings. At the same time, he had so much ingrained liberality that at the time when he bestowed alms, and gave away lavishly to the poor, he emptied treasuries in the twinkling of an eye. The rich and the poor, the friend and the stranger, appeared to be the same before the eye of his generosity. When he sent back Sultān Bahādur of Sunārgām, after restoring his kingdom to him, he gave him at once as a reward all that he had in his treasury. He gave, every year, a hundred lakhs of tangāhs to Malik Ḡhaznīn, and he also gave so much to the Kāzi of Ḡhaznīn, as would not enter any one's conception. He gave to Malik Sanjar Badakhshānī eighty lakhs tangāhs, to Malik 'Imāduddīn seventy lakhs, to Sayyad Azād forty lakhs, and in the same ways his gifts were never less than so many lakhs. It should be noted that the tangāhs here referred to are tangāhs of silver, with a little alloy of copper, and were each of them equal to eight black tangāhs. Whenever any man of learning, or of skill, came to his court, he conferred many favours and various rewards on him. Whoever came to his court, as a suppliant, from Khurāsān, or 'Irak, or Māwar-un-Nahr, or other parts of the world, received such large rewards, and so many favours, that he was always, from that time forward, safe from penury and want. He had no equal in prescribing rules of government, and in the greatness of his wisdom. He had such correct discernment and such sharp penetration, that he could, merely by a glance, discover the virtues and the vices of any man. He could discover what was in the mind of any one, even before the latter began to speak. His name became proverbial for eloquence of speech, and beauty of diction, for a fine literary style, and for ingenious treatment of subjects. He wrote elegant prose and verse. He excelled in knowledge of history; and had great skill in metaphysics, and logic. S'ad the astronomer, 'Ubad the poet, and Moulana 'Ilmuddīn, who were learned in philosophy, but had no concern with the law of the prophet, were always in attendance on him; and from their companionship, and from constant exercise in ratiocinative learning, he had acquired an impression that truth was confined only in the latter. As regards traditional learning, he accepted only what conformed with ratiocinative

learning. He refused to accept anything which was based on tradition alone. Yet he had so much faith in, and such subservience for, the Abbasi Caliph, that he considered it absolutely unlawful to begin any work of government without obtaining his permission. He showed the very greatest deference and respect to his ambassadors, and used to go out on foot to meet the latter.

He exerted himself so much in the conquest of new provinces, and in the administration of his dominions, that Gujrāt and Mālwah, and Deogir and Tilang, and Kampila and Dhor Samund, and M'ābar and Tirhut, and Lakhnauti and Satgām, and Sonārgām were completely subjugated within a short period; and the revenue, and the abstracts of the receipts, and the disbursements of all those provinces arrived in Dehli, just like those of the towns in the Doāb; and the authority of the governors and other officers was so firmly and completely established, that not one of the headmen, or other turbulent persons, in those places, could either by way of concealment or by way of obduracy keep back a *diram* out of the imperial revenues. All the Rays and the Zamindārs of the empire always stood at his door, with girded loins, to do his behests. So much riches came from all parts of the empire, that in spite of the Sultān's excessive lavishness and his large gifts, there was never any deficiency in the treasury.

#### *Couplets.*

The ruler of the world, out of these gems and gold,  
Lavished much riches, and much gems to one and all;  
To those who stood to worship at his door, he gave;  
To those of highest rank, also to those in need.  
No one could gain a path into that treasure-house.  
He from his generosity his guerdon got.

As he had the faculty of invention highly developed, he wanted to inaugurate new rules made by himself, and to abrogate rules established by former kings with much wise thought. Every day he passed a fresh order and introduced a new rule and issued decrees addressed to the governors and officers in the various portions of his dominions with injunctions to carry them into effect. As his orders were contrary to the directions of the ancient Sultāns, and also to the dictates of wisdom, they excited universal hatred; and the

officers were unable to enforce them. For if taking heed of the hatred of the people, they made any delay, or showed any hesitation in carrying them out, they made themselves liable to various pains and penalties; and on the other hand, if they enforced them, the common people were destroyed; and the greatest dangers found their way into the empire. In a word, he prescribed certain rules, which will be mentioned in detail later on, which ruined his subjects. Those who were poor were utterly ruined and decimated, and those who had some strength became refractory and rebellious. As Sultān Muhammad had an evil disposition, and was stern and severe, and the slaying of human beings had become a part of his nature, he did not hesitate or delay to punish and to kill. As his orders were not carried into effect, he put whole populations to the sword, and denuded extensive tracts of God's creatures. Things soon came to such a pass, that many of the provinces, which had been in his possession, passed out of it; and in fact even in Dehli, which was his capital, insurrection and rebellion made their appearance. The inflow of revenue from the various districts was cut off and the treasuries became empty. Zainuddin, the Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Usuf Bughra, Abu Rajā and the son of the Kāzi of Gujrāt were the Sultān's confederates in these proceedings. They exerted themselves in the seizure and destruction of God's creatures.

Among his absurd projects and ill-advised proceedings was this, that he determined to increase the rents of all the land in the Doab by ten per cent; and for this purpose created some ābwābs (cesses). This became the cause of the destruction of many people, and produced contumacy in some of the rayyats, and cultivation was suspended. A drought also took place at this time, and there was severe famine in Dehli; so that many houses became depopulated and whole sections of the people were ruined. There was consequently great confusion in the affairs of the empire. Another of his projects was this, that he intended to make Deogr, which he considered to be in the centre of his dominions, and which he had named Doulatābād, his capital. Owing to this he depopulated Dehli which had become the object of the envy of Baghdād and Damascus; and directed the inhabitants, who were accustomed to its climate, to transport themselves with their families and children to Deogr. He gave to each person the expenses of the journey,

and the price of his house, from the treasury. Vast sums were spent in this way. Most of the people who started, could not at all reach Deogir, and those who did so, could not remain there. The changes and vicissitudes, which found their way into the conditions of men, became the cause of great confusion in the affairs of the kingdom. Another of his projects was this, that he should bring the whole of that quarter of the globe which was inhabited, under his sway. As the number of his troops and his revenue were not sufficient for this, he designed to issue a copper coin, in order to accomplish his object; and ordered that copper should be coined in the mint like gold and silver. Small copper coins were accordingly passed into the currency like tangahs of gold and silver, and were used in buying and selling. The Hindus brought large quantities of copper to the mints, had them coined, and in this way they got together *lakhs* and *karors*, with which they bought goods and weapons. These they sent to distant places, and sold there for gold and silver tangahs. Every goldsmith began to coin money in his house, and bringing them to the markets, sold them there. After some time, this order fell into desuetude in distant places; and in those places people obtained the copper tangahs in exchange for uncoined copper, and took them to places, where the order was still in force, and exchanged them for tangahs of gold and silver. Gradually the copper tangahs became so numerous that they necessarily lost all value; and became worthless like pebbles and potsherds, and the gold and silver tangahs became dearer than before. Great confusion then crept into all transactions of buying and selling.

*Couplet.*

When gold as base as copper doth become,  
They bring it from all sides at copper's price.

When Sultān Muhammad saw that his order had become a dead letter, and he could not go on punishing the people for disregarding it, he ordered that any one who had any copper tangahs might bring them into the treasury; and get in exchange for them, the current coin of the value, i.e. tangahs of gold and silver. He did so, in the hope that perhaps in this way the copper tangahs would rise in public estimation, and would become current in all transac-

tions of buying and selling. The copper tangahs, which had accumulated in people's houses and had remained unused, were all brought into the treasury, and were exchanged for tangahs of gold and silver. The copper remained uncurrent as before, and all the treasuries were depleted. In this way, there was very great trouble in the government of the empire.

Another of his insane projects was this, that he should conquer Khurāsān and 'Irāk; and on this account, he made valuable gifts to people from those countries, who came to him, hoping in this way to gain their hearts. He also collected an immense army, and he disbursed the pay of three lakhs and seventy thousand mounted troops from the treasury. The troops received their pay for the first year; but in the second year the Sultān had no leisure to utilise them, and to conquer new territories; and consequently he did not get any money for the support of the troops, nor did any booty fall into their hands to console them. The treasuries had become completely empty in the first year. The troops then dispersed and the strength of the army was reduced. This was another cause of confusion which found its way into his treasury and empire. The last of his absurd projects was this, that he wanted to conquer the Himāchal<sup>1</sup> mountains, which stand between the countries of Hindustān and Chīn. For this purpose he appointed renowned Amīrs, and tried commanders; and sent them with a numerous army, so that they might enter the mountains, and exert themselves to conquer them. When, however, the whole army entered the mountains, the Hindus inhabiting them fortified the narrow passes; and stopped the paths, by which they would have returned; and slew most of them, and the few who returned alive, were ordered by Sultān Muhammad to be executed.

As Sultān Muhammad, day after day, passed impracticable orders; and caused unparalleled hardships; and the people found it impossible to bear them; the government of the country became completely disarranged and fell into the greatest confusion. Rebel-

<sup>1</sup> Elliot (iii, p. 241) calls the mountain Kurājal, and it is stated in a note that the printed text has Farājal and this is favoured to some extent by one MS., but the other is consistent in reading Karājal. The *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* (both MSS. and the lithographed text) had Himājal which should be changed to Himāchal.

lions cropped up everywhere. The first of these was that of Bahrām Abīh, in Multān. When Sultān Muhammad heard of this revolt in Deogir, he came to Dehli with the greatest speed, and having equipped his army there, started for Multān. Bahrām came and opposed him; but in the battle which ensued, he lost his life.

*Couplet.*

If with thy benefactor, thou wilt fight;  
If high's the sky thou art, thou'lt headlong fall.

They brought his head to Sultān Muhammad; and the revolt subsided. The Sultān wanted to punish the people of Multān for having sided with Bahrām Abīh. The Shaikh-ul-Islām, Shaikh Ruknuddīn-al-'Azīz, may his tomb be holy! interceded for the forgiveness of their offence; and the Sultān having accepted the intercession, returned triumphant and victorious to Dehli.

As the men from various places, who had been living under great difficulties in Deogir, dispersed; and Deogir remained ruined and desolate, the Sultān remained at Dehli, and did not go to Deogir. At this time the whole of the Doab was desolated owing to exorbitant exactions, and the high demand on account of revenue; so that many of the rayyats burnt down their granaries, and taking away their cattle, wandered away. The Sultān ordered, that such of them as might be caught, should be slain; and the country plundered. The governors and other officers in the country put the people to death, and pillaged the country. Those who escaped with their lives, went into the jungles and concealed themselves there.

*Couplet.*

In town and country, they one and all  
Were helpless through his tyranny.

At this time the Sultān went to Baran to hunt, and he ordered the whole of that district to be pillaged and the inhabitants to be put to the sword. The heads of the slain were ordered to be suspended from the battlements of the citadel of Baran.

Another revolt was this. Fakhra, who was called Malik Fakhr-uddīn, rebelled in Bangālah after the death of Bahrām Khān and



killed Kadr Khān; and having looted the treasury at Lakhnauti, took possession of Lakhnauti, Sunārgām and Satgām. At this time the Sultān was engaged in plundering the country round Kanonj. He ravaged the whole country from Kanonj to Mauhamah<sup>1</sup> and he put immense numbers to the sword. He had not yet withheld his hand from pillage and slaughter, when news arrived that Hasan, the father of Ibrahim, the Kharitahdār (bag or purse bearer) had raised a revolt in Ma'bar, and having killed the nobles there, had taken possession of the country. The Sultān came to the capital, and seizing Ibrahim Kharitahdār and the other relations of Sayyad Hasan put them in prison, and having equipped an army started in the direction of Ma'bar. When he arrived in Deogir he made such exorbitant demands on the officers, nobles and peoples of the country, that most of them lost their lives on account of the difficulty of meeting them. He also made heavy assessments on the Marhatta country, and appointed strict and severe collectors. After that he sent Ahmed Ayūz to Dehli, and himself started towards Tilang. When he reached Arangal there was plague<sup>2</sup> raging there. Most people were suffering from it, and some of the renowned grandees died of it. Sultān Muhammad was also attacked. He left Malik Kabūl, the Naib Vazir, in charge of the country, and returned towards Deogir. When he arrived at the latter place, he placed himself under treatment for a few days. He conferred the title of Nasrat Khān on Shihāb-i-Sultāni, placed him in charge of Bidar and made over the fiefs in that territory, which were assessed at a hundred lakhs of tangāhs, to him. He made Kutlagh Khān the governor of Deogir and the Marhatta country. He then returned towards Dehli, although he was still ill.

He had already passed an order, that such of the people of Dehli as were now resident in Deogir, might return to Dehli, if they wished to do so; but if they preferred Deogir, they might continue to reside there. Most of the people came to Dehli with the Sultān, but some preferred to remain in the Marhat country. The Sultān continued at Deogir for a few days longer, and then commenced his

<sup>1</sup> The name of the place is so given in the MSS. In the lith. ed., it is Hamuhamah. In Elliot (iii, 243) it is called Dalamu.

<sup>2</sup> Wabā in the original. It is translated cholera in Elliot iii, p. 243.

progress. He found the whole of the country of Mālwah and the towns along the route to Dehli ruined and desolated by the famine. The paiks who had been stationed on the dakchowki route were all dispersed, and all signs of cultivation had disappeared. When the Sultān reached D., he found it ruined also. The famine was so severe that a seer of grain could not be bought for seventeen dirams. Many people perished and cattle were also dying for want of fodder.

*Verse.*

So dread a famine did in Damascus rage,  
That lovers great their dalliance sweet forgot.  
The skies to the earth so niggardly became,  
That fields and orchard could not wet their lips.

The Sultān, on seeing the ruin and desolation, turned his attention to the prosperity of the country; and the increase of the cultivation. He made gifts to the people from the imperial treasury, and kept them occupied with the work of cultivation. But as they were in great distress, they spent a part of what they received as advances in buying food: and the remainder on their cultivation; but owing to the scarcity of rain, which happened at that time, they derived no benefit; and most of the people were punished with death, (apparently owing to their not being able to repay their advances).

At this time Shahu Afghān raised the standard of hostility, and slew Behzad, the Naib of Multān. Malik Bhura fled from Multān, and came to Dehli. Sultān Muhammad then started on an expedition to Multān with a large following. He had proceeded only one stage, when his mother, Malkah-i-Jahān, on whom depended the maintenance and arrangement of the entire household of Sultān Tughlak Shāh, was united to the Divine mercy. The Sultān was overcome with grief and sorrow, and ordered that food and alms should be distributed in the city for the benefit of her soul; but he hastened towards Multān. When he arrived in the vicinity of that city, Shahu sent him a petition, and expressed his shame and repentance; and leaving Multān went to Afghanistan. The Sultān returned from the way to Dehli. There the famine was raging with such ferocity, that man was devouring man. The Sultān again made great exertions to extend the cultivation, and granted money from the

treasury. He ordered that cultivators should dig wells, and should devote themselves to the cultivation of their fields; but owing to their distress, and want of preparation, and also on account of the scarcity of rain, they were accused of neglect and default and were punished. At this time bands of Mundāhirs, and Chauhāns and Bahtians and Minahs, who lived in the territories of Sunāni and Sāmāna, began to act turbulently, and building houses for themselves in the vast jungles, collected water and grain there, and deeming these to be strongholds for themselves, assembled there; and acting in a violent and refractory manner, withheld payment of revenue, and began to commit highway robberies. The Sultān marched troops to destroy them, and having demolished their fortifications, which in their language were called Mandals, dispersed them. He brought their leaders with him, assigned them places in the capital to live in, and included them in the ranks of the nobility. In this way he suppressed the disturbances which they had created in that country.

At this time Kanya Paik, who was in the vicinity of Arangal, rose in rebellion, in concert with the Zamindars of that country, and Malik Makbūl the naib fled and came to Dehli. Arangal came into the possession of the Hindus, and ceased to be included in the imperial dominions. At the same time, a relation of the Rajah of Kampilah, whom Sultān Muhammad had sent to that place, apostatized from Islām, and revolted; and Kampilah also passed out of the Sultān's dominions. In this way, of the distant territories, no portion, except Gujrat and Deogir, remained in the Sultān's possession. Dangers and rebellions occurred on every side. The Sultān became still more enraged at this, and ordered the people to be punished. The latter, hearing of the Sultān's severity, felt greater hatred toward him and this gave rise to more disturbances and insurrections.

The Sultān, however, went on devoting his attention to the extension of cultivation, and to foster the prosperity of the country; but owing to the scarcity of the rains, his endeavours were of little avail. At last he found it necessary to order that the gates of the city should be opened and the people who had been kept there, with force and violence, should be allowed to go where they pleased. Many of these people migrated, with their families and dependants,

towards Bangālah and the neighbouring country. The Sultān also left the capital, and passing Patiāli and Kampilah took up his residence on the bank of the Ganges. He ordered that people should erect huts there and live in them. The place was called Sargdwārī. Grain was brought there from Karah and Audh and was cheaper there than in the capital. 'Ainul-Mulk who held the fiefs of Audh and Zafarābād, and resided there with his brothers, regularly sent to Sargdwārī, grain and piece-goods, and everything else that was necessary. During the time that the Sultān remained at Sargdwārī, he sent for the latter's service eighty lakhs of tangāhs worth of cash and grain and various kinds of things. The Sultān had great confidence in him, and implicit trust in his capacity and good management.

Four insurrections took place during the time that the Sultān was at Sargdwārī, but were quickly put down. The first was the disturbance created by Nizām Māhīn in Karah. This Nizām Māhīn was a contemptible fellow, a man who talked and acted foolishly, and was of no position and status, who revolted because he could not fulfil the terms under which he held his fief, and who assuming the royal canopy, took the title of Sultān 'Ala-uddin.

Before Sultān Muhammad could undertake his destruction, 'Ainul-Mulk with his brothers attacked and seized him and after having him flayed sent his head to the Sultān. The fiefs of the rebel were allotted to Shaikh-Zādah Bastāmi, in whose house the sister of the Sultān was, and the task of the punishment of the men who had joined him in creating the disturbance was entrusted to the Shaikh-zādah; and he suppressed the insurrection. The next rebellion was that of Shihāb-i-Sultān who bore the title of Nasrat Khān. He had accepted the fief of the entire territory of Bidar on condition of paying a hundred lakhs of tangāhs, but being unable to pay it, revolted and betook himself to the fort of Bidar. Kutlak Khān was deputed from Deogir against him, and other noblemen were sent from Delhi to co-operate with him. Kutlak Khān besieged the fort of Bidar and having compelled Shihāb-i-Sultān to capitulate on certain terms, sent him to attend on the Sultān. This rebellion was also thus put down. A month had not however yet elapsed after this, when 'Alī Shāh, the nephew (sister's son) of Zafar Khān, who was an Amīr Sadah and had been sent from Deogir to Gulbargah to collect the

revenue, finding that place denuded of officers treacherously slew Baharan, the ruler of Gulbargah ; and having plundered his property, went to Bidar, and having slain the deputy of that place also, took possession of it. Sultān Muhammad sent Kutluk Khān to destroy him ; and some of the nobles of Dehli and the troops of Dhār were ordered to accompany him. 'Ali Shāh advanced to meet Kutluk Khān, and giving battle was routed. He then took shelter in the citadel of Bidar and Kutluk Khān offered him terms, and he and his brothers having come out of the fort were sent to the Sultān in Sargdwārī. The Sultān sent 'Ali Shāh and his brothers to Ghaznīn, and when they came back from Ghaznīn he had both brothers executed.

After this, Sultān Muhammad wanted to place the affairs of Deogīr under the charge of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and he sent for Kutluk Khān from that place. Before this a number of writers, who had been accused of embezzlement in Dehli, and had been ordered to be punished, had left Dehli under the pretext of dearness of grain there ; and had gone to Audh, and Zafarābād ; and thrown themselves under the protection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk and his brothers. This had excited the anger of the Sultān, but he had considered it inexpedient to show it. 'Ain-ul-Mulk had, however, become cognizant of the change in the Sultān's disposition towards him ; and had taken alarm. At the time when the affairs of Deogīr were placed under his charge, and he was ordered to go there with his retainers and dependants, he considered this to be the outcome of the cunning and treachery of the Sultān ; and endeavoured therefore to safeguard his own interests. In compliance with the orders of the Sultān, he summoned his brothers and troops from Audh and Zafarābād, and while they were on the march, he suddenly left Sargdwārī one night and joined them. He then raised the standard of hostility, and his brothers having arrived in the neighbourhood of Sargdwārī, at the head of four thousand horsemen, they drove the elephants and the horses belonging to the Sultān which were grazing in the fields in that vicinity before them, and took them away to their own camping ground. The Sultān in great perplexity summoned the armies of Sāmānah and Amrohā and Baran and Kol. Ahmad Ayāz also arrived at the head of the Dehli army. The Sultān having then arranged all his troops advanced towards Kanouj, and encamped in

the vicinity of that city. 'Ain-ul-Mulk and his troops also encamped in front of him.

*Verse.*

The roars of the raging elephants, so fierce,  
 Broke the knots in the throats of the lions bold.<sup>1</sup>  
 Father with son was in dreadful deadly feud ;  
 'Twas all mere form ; all love from the earth was fled.

Then crossing the Ganges at the ferry of Bāngar Mau they engaged in battle and were defeated. 'Ain-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner, and his two brothers were killed. A number of his soldiers fell in the battle, and those who escaped the sword, were drowned in the Ganges. The few that succeeded in crossing the river, fell into the hands of the Hindus, in the territories held by them, and were put to death. When they brought 'Ain-ul-Mulk to the Sultān, the latter declared that he was not to blame in any way. It was his men who had led him astray. He ordered 'Ain-ul-Mulk to be brought before him, encouraged him and honoured him with a robe of honour. He also entrusted him with the discharge of certain high affairs and pardoned his sons, and all his dependants and adherents.

The Sultān went from Bāngar Mau to Bahraich, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sipah Sālār Mas'ud Shāhid, who was a relative of Sultān Mahmud of Ghaznī; and bestowed large sums in alms to the attendants of the tomb of that personage, and the Fakīrs who were resident there. He sent Ahmad Ayūz to Bahraich, that he might station himself on the road to Lakhnauti, and might prevent the fugitives from 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army escaping to that place; and that he might also send the others who had left Dehli, on account of the famine, or through fear of the Sultan's vengeance, and had settled in Audh and Zafarābād, to their native districts. He then came from Bahraich to Dehli. Ahmad Ayāz also joined him there, after performing the duties entrusted to him.

As an idea had taken root in the Sultan's mind, that it was improper to rule his empire without the sanction of the Abbās-

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to imagine the curious phenomenon of natural history described in the first two lines. The meaning of the last line is also obscure: one MS. has *بر* instead of *هر* which would mean perhaps that the sea was raging tumultuously.

Caliph, and in fact that such a thing was entirely against the law of the prophet, he made enquiries about the existence of any Caliphs of that line. He was, at last, informed that a Caliph of that line was seated on the seat of the Caliph in Egypt. Acting under the advice of Kamāl-ul-Mulk, he rendered homage to that Caliph in his absence; and for two or three months sent messages and representations to him, and explained his feelings of reverence and homage. He also directed that the Friday prayers and those of the 'Id should be discontinued in the city; and likewise directed, that the name of the Caliph should be impressed on the coin in place of his own name. At last in the year 744 A.H. Hāji Sa'id Sarsari came from Egypt to Dehli and brought to the Sultān a *farmān* sanctioning his rule, and promising him support, and a robe of honour. The Sultān went forward to meet and welcome him, attended by all the nobles, and learned men, and Shaikhs. When the two parties approached each other, the Sultān dismounted, placed the Caliph's *farmān* on his head, imprinted kisses on the feet of Sa'id Sarsari, showed great respect for him, and accompanied the procession on foot. He directed that domes should be erected in the city, and heaped gold on the Caliph's *farmān*. He also gave orders for the performance of Friday prayers, and those of the 'Ids which had been discontinued. The *Khutbah* was ordered to be read in the Caliph's name, and he ordered that the names of the kings who had had no authority from the Abbāsi Caliphs should be removed from it. He ordered the name of the Caliph to be inserted in gold-embroidered garments and in the architraves of edifices. After the arrival of Hāji Sa'id Sarsari the Sultān ordered that a memorial should be written, and he sent it with Hāji Rajab Bark'ai with such a precious jewel, that there was not another like it in the treasury, with other gifts and presents, for the Caliph's acceptance. He included in the tribute, Malik Kabir, the chief of his guards, who was one of his slaves, and had no equal in the beauty of his morals, the soundness of his wisdom, as well as in piety, bravery and loyalty, and than whom he had no more favoured servant; and made him part and parcel of the Caliph's property. He got a memorial executed by Malik Kabir, containing a stipulation that he would serve the Caliph, and sent it with Hāji Rajab Bark'ai to the Caliph. He also gave him the title of Malik Kabir Khalifi. After two years Hāji

Rajab Bark'al came a second time to the Sultān accompanied by the Shaikh-ush-Shaiūkh of Egypt and bringing a *farmān* by which the Sultān was declared to be the deputy of the Caliph, a special robe of honour, and the standard of the Amīr-ul-Mauminin. The Sultān went out to welcome them, with all his nobles and great officers, and as he got near them, he dismounted, and placing the *farmān* on his head walked from the gate to the inside of the Kiosk. He directed the nobles to make obeisance to the *farmān*; and always kept the Qur'ān, the Hadis and this *farmān* before him. He received the homage of the people in the name of the Caliph, and every order and *farmān* which he issued, he declared to be issued on the authority of the latter; and he said that the commander of the faithful had ordered this or directed that. After some time he granted permission to the Shaikh-ush-Shaiukh of Egypt to depart, after conferring many rewards and honours on him. He also sent much wealth and many precious gems for the acceptance of the Caliph by the hand of the Shaikh-ush-Shaiukh, who went away by sea. On two occasions after this, the Caliph's *farmāns* came to the Sultān at Broach and Kambayāt, and on both occasions he received them with great reverence and honour, and followed the practice of making gifts and offerings. When the Mukhlūm-Zādah of Baghdād came to the Sultān, the latter went as far as the town of Pālam, which is five karohs from Delhi, to meet him, and he conferred on him as a mark of his favour, one lakh of tangahs, one parganah, and the Kiosk of Sīrī, and all the revenue of the land appertaining to it, and other reservoirs and gardens. Whenever the Mukhlūm Zādah came to wait on the Sultān, the latter came down from the throne, and advanced a few steps to meet him, and made him sit down on the throne, beside himself, and sat in his presence with great respect and decorum.

After the Sultān had obtained the *farmān* of the Abbāsī Caliph, and had thus, in his opinion, acquired a good title to the throne, he went on with the work of the government with great firmness and éclat. After taking up his residence in Sargdwar, he again devoted himself to the task of increasing the wealth of the country and of extending the cultivation. He framed some new rules in connection with this. Every expedient which occurred to him, in connection with the extension of cultivation, he called an *ashub*



(regulation). He established a separate department which he called the Amīr Goī department. None of the regulations was however of any avail, or resulted in any improvements. Among other things he ordered that the whole country should be divided into circles of thirty karohs; and that in these circles, all the uncultivated lands should be brought under cultivation, and where they were already under cultivation, more valuable crops should be grown than before. About a hundred shikdārs or superintendents were appointed to see this carried out. Many people who were hungry and in great distress, and many others who were greedy and avaricious did not think what the ultimate effect of their acts would be, but went and took the land and also obtained large sums in the shape of advances and rewards. They spent these sums in supplying their immediate needs, and then waited in expectation of the punishment which they knew would follow. In the course of two years eighty and odd lakhs of tangahs were disbursed from the treasury for this purpose. If the Sultān had returned alive from the expedition to Thathah he would not have left a single superintendent, or other officer employed in this work, alive.

Another measure which the Sultān undertook, while he was at Sargdwāri, was the dismissal of old officers and the appointment of new ones. As it was reported to the Sultān, that the provinces of Marhat and Deogīr had been ruined and desolated by the embezzlements and the oppressions committed by the men employed by Kutluk Khān, and their revenue had been reduced to a tenth of what it had been before, the Sultān [newly] assessed the revenue of Marhat at seven karors, and dividing it into four parts, appointed Surur-ul-Mulk, Makhlis-ul-Mulk, Yusuf Baghrā and Aziz Khamār as the four divisional governors. He conferred the appointment of the Vazīr of Deogīr on 'Imad-ul-Mulk, Sarir Sultānī; and that of the Naib Vazīr on Dhārāohar,<sup>1</sup> who had been in charge of the agricultural advances, and the carrying out of the agricultural regulations. He summoned Kutluk Khān with his dependants and adherents from Deogīr. The people of the place were, however, pained and distressed at his departure, inasmuch as the severity of the Sultān

<sup>1</sup> This name is given as Anbaohar in the lith. ed., but in the MSS. it is written as Dhārāohar.

had overwhelmed all the country, but the people of Deogr had remained safe, under the shadow of Kutluḡ Khān's protection, and were happy and contented with the kind treatment he accorded them. Maulānā Nizāmuddīn, who was at Broach, was ordered to go to Deogr, and to take charge of the administration; and the management of affairs there, pending the arrival of some other officers. The Sultān directed that the revenue which had been collected by Kutluḡ Khān, and had been amassed there, as it could not be brought to Dehli, on account of the insecurity of the road, should be kept at Dhārāgarh, which was another name for the citadel of Daulatābād, and was a strong fort. After Kutluḡ Khān had arrived at Dehli, the Sultān sent 'Aziz Khamār, who belonged to the meaner classes, to govern Malwah. At the time of sending him off, the Sultān gave certain directions to him. Among these, he said, 'I hear that every disturbance, which occurs in any province is caused by its Amīr Sadahs, who support all the turbulent people; and in this way, become the source of all insurrections. If you find any of them to be evil disposed, and to be inclined to create disturbances, you should at once have them executed.' When 'Aziz Khamār reached the territory of Dhār, and took up the administration of affairs there, he caused eighty and odd of the leaders of the Amīrs Sadah of the province to be seized and beheaded, without proper enquiry and deliberation. He did not consider that the Amīrs Sadah of Gujrat, the Dakin, and other provinces would become frightened and cause various disturbances. At that period the Yuzbāshis were called Amīrs Sadah. When 'Aziz Khamār wrote an account of his proceedings and submitted it to the Sultān, the latter was delighted and sent a *farmān* expressive of his appreciation, and a special robe of honour. He also directed the nobles that they should write laudatory epistles to him, and send him horses and robes of honour. The Sultān thus honoured this 'Aziz Khamār and a few others, who belonged to the lowest classes, and gave them rank higher than that of most of the nobles. For instance, he entrusted the provinces of Gujrat, Multān and Badāūn to Bahnā the son of a musician. The office of Vazīr was entrusted

1 The name is given in the lith. ed. as in the text. In the three MSS. it is written as Bakḡahāi, Subhānī and Eknā.

to the son of a gardener, who was one of the lowest of men. Firoz the barber and Makka the tobacco seller, sons of a gardener, and Shaikh Babu, and Manik the son of a Julāha were honoured by being allowed proximity to the Sultān's person. He also bestowed high appointments and large fiefs on them. He entrusted the office of the Vazīr of Gujrat to a slave of Ahmad Āyāz, named Maḡbil, who both in person and in mind was the most despicable of men. The Sultān vainly imagined that if he raised men, who were low and wretched, they knowing that they had been raised from the dust, and had been cherished by him, would not stray from the path of loyalty; but he did not consider that the base could never change their nature, and the proper performance of the work of an empire cannot be expected from them. He was oblivious of the truthful saying:

*Couplets.*

To raise the heads of the wicked and the base,  
To hope for good from such as these,  
Is to lose the clue to fortune high;  
Is but to cherish a serpent in thy breast.

When the news of 'Aziz Khamār's abominable deed reached the ears of the Amīrs Sadah of the different provinces, they collected their forces and waited for a fit time and opportunity.

At this time Malik Maḡbil the Naib of Gujrat was coming to Dehli by way of Deoli and Baroda with the revenue which he had collected, and the horses belonging to the royal stables and other valuables. The Amīr Sadahs of Gujrat pillaged everything, and also the goods and merchandise of merchants who were travelling under his escort. Malik Maḡbil lost everything, and went alone to Nahrwāla. The Sultān was incensed on hearing this and determined to march in person to Gujrat. Although Kutluk Khān pointed out to him that the rebellion of the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda was not of such magnitude as to require the presence of the Sultān to quell it, his representation had no effect. Zia-i-Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firozshāhi*, says, that Kutluk Khān sent the message through him, and represented that by the grace of the Sultān, he had so many retainers and troops, that he could undertake the suppression of this insurrection; and that the Sultān's

going in person might be the cause of other disturbances and calamities, in other parts of the country.

*Couplet.*

The Sultān's steps, if like the sun, it moves about :  
Wherever it comes, its destruction brings.

The Sultān did not acquiesce in his prayer, and ordered that an army should be equipped. He left Malik Kīroz, his cousin, as the Regent at Dehli, during his absence, in conjunction with Malik Kabīr Ahmad Āyāz. He then started from Dehli, and encamping at Sultanpur, fifteen karos from the capital, began to collect troops. A representation from 'Aziz Khamār reached him there. He submitted that as the Amīr Sadahs of Deoli and Baroda had created the disturbance, and he was close to them, he had equipped the troops at Dhār and was starting against them. The Sultān felt some anxiety about him, and said, " 'Aziz Khamār is ignorant of the methods of warfare. It is quite likely that he will lose his life." Immediately after this, news came that when 'Aziz Khamār came in front of the insurgents, he lost all power over his limbs, and fell off from his horse, and the rebels slew him with ignominy. The Sultān then started from Sultānpur. Zia-i-Barni has narrated that at the time of starting for Gujrāt, the Sultan told him that although people had said that insurrections had been caused by his severity, he had determined not to change his methods for anything that they might say, and for any frequency in insurrections. He then said, Zia Barni proceeds, " You have read history and you can tell me under what circumstances kings should inflict severe punishment " In reply I humbly submitted that it was mentioned in the Tārīkh Kibra that there were seven classes of offences which required severe sentences, viz. (1) perversion from the true faith, (2) deliberate murder, (3) adultery by a man whose wife was living, with a woman whose husband was also living, (4) treason against the sovereign, (5) heading an insurrection and attempting to cause a revolution, (6) siding with the enemies of the sovereign and helping and aiding them by supplying intelligence and weapons, and (7) disobeying the orders of the sovereign and treating them with contumely. After this the Sultān enquired, in which of these cases is the punishment

authorized by *hadis* (the traditionary sayings of the prophet). I respectfully submitted that of the seven classes of offence three are mentioned in *hadis*, viz. perversion from the true faith, murder of a Musulman, and adultery; and the other four have been included by kings for the proper government of their realms. The Sultān said, "In early times men were truthful in words and deeds; but now owing to the corruption of morals, I find severe punishments indispensable, in order to keep the people in the right path; and to prevent their becoming turbulent and rebellious; so that I may remain safe in their midst. Besides I have no wise minister, one who could administer the country wisely and well; so that there may be no necessity for bloodshed."

When the Sultān reached Mount Abhu, which is on the boundary of Gujrāt, he nominated one of the Amīrs to take the field against the insurgents. The latter fought, and being defeated, fled in the direction of Deogīr. The Sultān came from Abhu to Baroch, and sent Malik Ḳābul, the Naib Vazīr of the empire, with the Amīr Sadahs, in pursuit of the insurgents. Malik Ḳābul overtook them on the bank of the Narbadā and slew most of them; and seized their children and dependants. Those who escaped with their lives, went to Māndeo, ruler of Mount Salīr Mulīr. The latter plundered and ravaged them, and the disturbances then completely subsided. Malik Ḳābul remained under the Sultān's orders, for a few days, on the banks of the Narbadā and had most of the Amīr Sadahs of Baroch put to death. The few that escaped with their lives, became wanderers on the face of the earth. The Sultān remained for a few days at Baroch, and after much enquiry, recovered the revenues of Baroch and Kambayat and the entire province of Gujrāt which had been pillaged, and which could still be found in the possession of the plunderers, and placed it in the treasury. He also ordered those, who were in any way connected with the insurrection, to be executed. He deputed Zin Bandah who bore the title of Majduddīn, and the son of Rukn Tānessari, who were two of the most wicked men of the age, to Deogīr, so that they might seize the insurgents of the place, and have them executed. The entire population of the country, who had heard of the severity of the Sultān, were panic struck, and in the greatest perplexity. The Sultān sent other Amīrs, after these, to Deogīr; and sent an order to

Maulānā Nizām, the brother of Kutluḡ Khān, that he should collect fifteen hundred horsemen, and send these with the notable Amīr Sadahs of the country with these two Amīrs to the court. Maulānā Nizām in compliance with the order sent fifteen hundred horsemen with the Amīr Sadahs of the neighbourhood, to the Sultān. At the first halting place, however, the Amīr Sadahs and the horsemen, owing to the fear and suspicion which they felt, combined together, killed the two Amīrs and imprisoned Maulānā Nizām and beheaded the officers who were stationed at Deogīr by order of the Sultān. They cut the son of Ruknuddīn Tānessari to pieces; took possession of the treasure which was in Dhārāgarh, and placed Malik Maḡh, brother of Malik Maḡh Afghān, on the throne. They divided the treasure among the horsemen and foot soldiers, and apportioned the country of Maḡhat among the insurgents. The officers and adherents of Malik Maḡh Afghān and the Amīr Sadahs of Deolī and Baroda all collected together at Deogīr, and the people of the country united with them. When the Sultān heard this, he came from Baroch to Deogīr by continuous marches. The insurgents met him were defeated, and most of them were slain. Maḡh Afghān, who was the chief of the insurgents, fortified himself with his adherents and officers in the citadel of Dhārāgarh. Hasan Kāuku and the brothers of Maḡh Afghān fled in the direction of Gulbargah; and the people of Deogīr, high and low, were plundered. Sultan Muhammad sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk Sartez Sultānī, with other nobles, to Gulbargah, so that they might bring that province under subjection, and put any of the fugitive insurgents, whom they might seize, to the sword. He sent many of the residents of Deogīr with Nauroz Kārkun towards Dehli. A gazette announcing the victory was sent: and was read from the pulpits in Dehli, where they beat the drum of joy. The Sultān then occupied himself with the ordering of the affairs of Deogīr and Maḡhat: but he had not finished attending to them, when news came that Taghī, who was a treacherous slave of his, but was noted for his daring and bravery, had placed the mark of treason on his forehead and had raised the standard of hostility; that he had got the Amīr Sadahs and the Zamindars of Gujrat to join him; and, coming into Nahrwālā, had put Malik Muzaffar, the deputy of Sheikh Mūizzuddīn, to death; had imprisoned Sheikh Mūizzuddīn himself and other officers: and had then marched from

Nahrwālā to Kambāyat with a large force; had ravaged that city, and had then gone to Baroch, and was at the time besieging the fort there. When the Sultān heard this, he left Khudā-wanī-Zādah Kawām-ud-dīn, Malik Jowhar, Sheikh Burhān Balārāmi and Zahir-uj jaiūsh, with a large body of troops, in Deogir; and started for Baroch with great speed. He took with him all the residents of Deogir that were still left there; and when he reached Baroch, he encamped on the bank of the Narbadā. Taghī then abandoned Baroch and went to Kambāyat. The Sultān despatched Malik Yusuf Baghrā, with a large force, in pursuit of him. When Malik Yusuf reached Kambāyat, Taghī confronted him, and gave battle, and Malik Yusuf Baghrā and some of the notables who were with him were killed; and the remnant of his army fled, and came to the Sultān at Baroch. Taghī ordered Sheikh Muizu ldīn and the other officers whom he had imprisoned to be put to death. The Sultān immediately crossed the Narbadā, and started towards Kambāyat. Taghī fled from Kambāyat to Āsāwal, and when the Sultān approached that place, he fled to Nahrwālā. The Sultān halted for a month at Āsīwal owing to the continuous rain. At this time, intelligence came that Taghī was marching from Nahrwālā, in the direction of Āsāwal, and had halted at Gari. The Sultān started immediately from Āsāwal in the midst of the rains, and came to Gari. When Taghī and his soldiers saw that the Sultan's army had arrived, they made themselves drunk, and, in the manner of men who had determined to sell their lives dear, attacked the centre of the Sultān's army. Their progress was however barred by the elephants, and they could not do anything, and were forced to turn back and to take refuge among some trees which grew in the neighbourhood in large numbers; and from there they fled to Nahrwālā. Five hundred of the insurgents, who were at the rear of Taghī's army, were captured alive and were put to the sword.

Sultān Muhammad then sent the son of Malik Yusuf Baghrā Khān, in the direction of Nahrwālā, in pursuit of Taghī. When night came on, the son of Malik Yusuf halted on the way. Taghī brought his family and dependants, and those of the other rebels, from Nahrwālā, and crossing the Rann, went to Kant in Kach; and after halting there for some days fled to Thatha. The Sultān arrived at Nahrwālā three days later, and halted on the bank of the

reservoir of Sabhalsang, and occupied himself with the affairs of the province of Gujrat. The headmen and Rāys of the province came to him from all sides, brought him tribute and were rewarded with robes of honour and other favours. The disorder and disturbances which had distracted the province were all removed by the Sultān's care and exertions. Some of the notables of Taghī's army had separated from him, and had taken refuge with Rana Mandal Siri. The latter had them executed and sent their heads to the Sultān.

The Sultān was still engaged with the management of the affairs of Gujrāt, when intelligence came that Hasan Kānku and other insurgents, who had before this been defeated at Deogīr and had dispersed, had again collected together, and had killed Imad-ul-Mulk Sartez Sultānī, and had routed and dispersed the army under his command; and that Khudāwand-Zādah Kawāmuddīn, Malik Jauhar and Zahr-uj-jaiūsh had gone away from Deogīr in the direction of Dhārāgarh; and Hasan Kānku had come to Deogīr, had assumed the royal canopy, and had taken the title of Sultān 'Alauddīn. The troops that were entrusted with the defence of the fort of Dhārāgarh, had also joined him, and thus a great rebellion was afoot. When the Sultān heard this, he was bewildered, and overwhelmed with sorrow. After much consideration, he came to the conclusion that all these disturbances were due to the severity and the frequency of the punishments inflicted by him, and during the few days he remained at Nahrwālā, he, in a manner, withheld his hand from further punishments.

*Verse.*

If thou art weak, thy foes grow bold,  
If too severe, they turn to buy;  
Be like a surgeon, soft and hard by turns;  
He cuts, and with an unguent soothes.

At this time the Sultān summoned Malik Fīroz, Ahmad Āyaz, Malik Ghaznīn, Amīr Katlā, and Saīr Jahan from Dehli, with their troops, that he might send them against Hasan Kānku, and they arrived with a large body of troops; but as intelligence came in rapid succession, that an immense host had collected round Hasan Kānku, the Sultān delayed sending them; and resolved, that after



freeing his mind from all anxiety, by settling the affairs of Gujrat, and the capture of Karnāl, which is commonly known as Junāgarh, he would himself proceed to crush Hasan Kānku. For this reason, he remained two years in Gujrat. In the first year, he directed his attention to the affairs of the province, and to the equipment of his army. During the second year, he occupied himself with the capture of the fort of Junāgarh. After he had taken possession of the citadel of Karnāl, with its dependencies, the headmen and Rays of the neighbourhood all submitted to him and rendered him homage. Kankār, the ruler of the territory of Kach, also came and tendered his submission.

Zia-i-Barni says, that at this time the Sultān told him, "My dominions have fallen a prey to various diseases. If I attend to one of these, another makes head. As thou hast read and studied historical works does any remedy suggest itself to your mind for this state of things?" He submitted humbly, "It has come to my notice that when the people of a country felt a hatred for their ruler; and many disturbances occurred in consequence, such a ruler abdicated in favour of a son or a brother, who was fitted to rule the country, and himself retired into obscurity. Others have considered the removal of the officers who were the cause of the unpopularity the proper remedy for such a disease." The Sultān said, in reply, "I have no son or other heir who can take my place; and I am determined not to relax the severity of my punishments. Let whatever is to happen, happen."

At Gondal, which is fifteen karohs from Karnāl, the Sultān fell ill. Before his arrival there he had, owing to the death of Malik Kabīr at Dehli, sent Ahmad Āyāz and Malik Kabul, the deputy Vazir of the empire, to the capital and had summoned the Khudawand-Zādah and the Makhdum-Zādah and other notables from Delhi to Gondal. When the Sultān reached Gondal, all these persons arrived there, with the ladies of the *haram*, and a large retinue. An immense host was thus assembled round the Sultān. The army had in the meantime been well equipped, and the Sultān had recovered from his illness. After this, he sent for boats from Dipālpūr, Multān, Uchh and Sewistān and directed that they should be all collected at Thatha, and started from Gondal; and arriving on the bank of the river, crossed it with his army and elephants and

encamped on the bank. At this time, Altūn Bahādur, who had come with five thousand Mughals from Amīr Kāzghān, joined the Sultān. The latter showed great favour and kindness to him and his soldiers. He then started towards Thatha in order to destroy the tribe known as the Somra, and the wretch Taghī who had taken shelter with them. When he arrived at a distance of thirty karohs from Thatha, it was the tenth day of the Muharram. He fasted and at the time of breaking it ate some fish. There was a relapse of the fever, from which he had been suffering. In spite of this, he embarked in a boat and proceeded to a place fourteen karohs from Thatha; but owing to the severity of the illness he found it necessary to stop there. Day after day, the disease increased till the 21st Muharram 752 A.H., when he died. He had reigned for a period of twenty eight years. Zia-i-Barni wrote the following elegy on him, in his history :—

*Verse.*

With poison is the draught of the world embittered !  
 All fruit is poison to Adam's children, here !  
 Oh friend of nothingness ! do thou desist ;  
 Talk less of this wretched and worthless world ;  
 The dawn of judgment grows ! and we asleep !  
 Wake up the slumberers of the earth !  
 What beautiful carpet, the morning breeze did spread !  
 Alas ! roll that bed of joyance away !  
 The day of destruction's come ! arise and break  
 The arch, and cleave the palace roof asunder !  
 Shah Muhammad in the dust of death doth sleep ;  
 Encase thyself in the azure robe of grief !  
 The cry of grief sounds loud in all the world,  
 Tear, tear, this bright and shining garment, tear !

SULTAN FIROZ SHAH.

He was the nephew (brother's son) of Sultān Shāhsuddīn Tughlak Shāh. When the illness of Sultān Muhammad Tughlak Shāh was prolonged, in the camp at Siwistān, and the time of his death drew near, Malik Firoz, the Naib or deputy, who was the son of his uncle, and in respect of whose right to succeed him the Sultān felt a righteous solicitude, fulfilled the requirements of gratitude and love

in the matter of the latter's medical treatment. Under these circumstances the Sultān's favour and kindness towards him was increased a thousand fold. When the Sultān saw that his end was near, he directed that Malik Firoz should succeed him. He said :

*Couplet.*

Oh flourish thou, and prosper in thy rule !

For ah ! my head vacates the cushion now !

When the Sultān died, in the neighbourhood of Thatha, indescribable confusion overtook the army. Malik Firoz Barbak considered it advisable that he should, by any pretext which he could think of, separate the three (five ?) thousand Mughal horsemen, whom Amīr Kazghan had sent to assist Sultān Muhammad, from the main army, so that it might be saved from their depredations. He therefore conferred rewards and robes and garments on the chiefs of that body as well as on the other horsemen, and gave them permission to return to their own country ; and also directed that they should at once separate themselves from the rest of the army and encamp at a distance from it. In these circumstances, two days after Sultān Muhammad's death, when the army was in great confusion and distress from the fear of the ravages and the attacks of the Mughals, Nauroz Gurgin, the son-in-law of Barmah Shīrīn, who had been brought up by Sultān Muhammad, ungratefully joined the Mughals ; and incited the latter to stretch their hands to ravage, and to begin to seize and plunder the troops, just at the time when they would begin their march ; and when there would be great disorder and confusion in the camp. Much property was plundered and many of the women and children were seized that day by the Mughals and the scum of the people of Thatha. The soldiers spent that day in unspeakable anxiety and fear. The next day the troops were arranged with great care, and began their march. This day also, the Mughals and the marauders of Thatha went on ravaging and plundering. At last the army reached the bank of the river, and encamped there. They were like sheep without a shepherd and were being slaughtered and destroyed. Then, Makhdūm-Zādalāh Abbāsī, and Shaikh Nasiruddin Muhammad Audhi, who was celebrated as the Lamp of Dehli, and was the successor of Shaikh

Nizāmuddīn Auliā, and the learned men, and Shaikhs, and Maliks, and Amīrs assembled together, and begged Malik Firoz Bārbak that he should ascend the throne.

*Verse.*

The soldiers all did kiss the ground,  
Where the Sultān set his auspicious foot ;  
Where he did step, they placed their heads ;  
With his commands, they crowned themselves ;  
If he to fire and water did their place convert ,  
Still their hearts from him did not turn.

Malik Firoz expressed a desire for travelling in the Hejaz, and of performing a pilgrimage to the holy places, and begged to be excused ; but at last at the entreaty of high and low, he ascended the imperial throne, on the 24th Muharram, in the year 752 A.H., and ransomed so many thousand people who were in the clutches of the marauders. On the third day after that, they mounted with such discipline and in such order, that whenever the Mughals and the marauders of Thatha attempted to attack them from any side, they were themselves seized and became prisoners ; and in this way the trouble which they had up to that time caused, ceased.

*Verse.*

When's royal canopy like the phoenix spread its wing !  
No owl could have the hardihood to play the hawk.  
So peaceful did the breath of his greatness make the world,  
That e'en the things at war did hold communion sweet.

The people, both gentle and simple, received many royal benefactions in the first year after the accession of Sultān Firoz Shāh. After a time, they arrived, by continuous marches, at Siwistān, and there the Amīrs, Maliks, Shaikhs and the commanders of the army were rewarded with gifts of horses, robes of honour, swords, and girdles. The people of Siwistān were also honoured with rewards and gratuities. From that place the army started for Hindustān, and in every city and village to which they came the hearts of the people were gladdened with presents and pensions.

*Couplets.*

With care, he went into the depths of things;  
 With gifts, he supplied the wants of all;  
 His treasures made all men so rich;  
 His troops, with labour, bore his gems.

At this very time, news came of the hostility of Malik Ahmad Āyāz, who bore the title of Khawājah-i-Jahān, and was one of the trusted servants of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, who had left him to act as Regent at Dehli, during his absence. It appeared that he had placed a boy of unknown birth on the throne, describing him as a son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh; and had given him the designation of Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Muhammad Shāh; and had constituted himself Regent with absolute power. The Sultān (Firoz Shāh) attributed these abominable proceedings of his to his foolishness and stupidity; issued a decree granting him full pardon; and sent him a message containing much wise advice. Malik Saifuddīn, the superintendent of the elephants, carried this message to Malik Ahmad Āyāz; but he paid no heed to it, and sent a message through a deputation composed of Sayyad Jalāl, Malik Dhilān, Maulānā Najmuddīn Rāzī and Dāūd, his own Maulānā-Zādah, to the effect that the empire was still in the possession of Sultān Muhammad; that he should accept the office of deputy and devote himself with energy to the performance of the affairs of the empire; and that any nobles whom he might select might be joined with him as his colleagues. On the arrival of the deputation, the Sultān convened an assembly; and calling together Shaikh Nasiruddīn Muhammad Audhi, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Audhi, Maulānā Kamāluddīn Sāmānah, Maulānā Shamsuddīn Bākharzī, and other great officers and learned men, placed the whole matter before them; and enquired what their opinion in the matter was; and what, in accordance with the law of the prophet, was his duty. Malik Kamāluddīn said, whoever had undertaken the duties of the empire should go on with them. The Sultān kept the emissaries sent by Ahmad Āyāz under guard, and sent him an epistle containing good advice through Dāūd, his Maulānā-Zādah, who, as already mentioned, was one of the emissaries. When Dāūd arrived, Ahmad Āyāz felt that he would not be able to accomplish his designs, as he saw that most of the nobles,

and specially Malik Naththu the chamberlain, and Malik Hasan Multāni and others like them, who had at first made common cause with him, and taken large sums of money, had started from Dehli to welcome the Sultān, and to join his army.

At this time, news came that Taghi, who had revolted and had gone away to Gujrāt, had been killed there; and on all sides signs of the good fortune of Sultān Firoz Shāh began to appear. Ahmad Ayāz in great distress and anxiety determined to make his submission; and sent Ashraf-ul-Mulk and Malik Khaljīn and Malik Kabīr and Hasan Amīr-i-Miran to intercede for him. The Sultān pardoned him and directed him to appear before him. Ahmad Ayāz came with his adherents, with their heads hanging down, and uncovered, and their turbans round their necks; and made his obeisance, near Hānsī. The Sultān directed that Ahmad Ayāz should be made over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and Malik Ghiasuddin Khitab (i.e. the boy whom Ahmad Ayāz had proclaimed as Sultān—why the word Khitāb is appended to his name is not clear) should be conveyed to Tabarhindah; and Shaikh-Zādah Bastāmi should be banished. The tongue of time now spoke according to the purport of the following strophe:—

*Verse.*

Each one of thy enemies     In a different way, hath time,  
In the whirl of utter destruction immersed; one's dead;  
And Fate hath cut the throat of one with his poniard sharp:  
And one, with all his family in direst ruin's engulfed!

On the 2nd Rajab, in the year 752 A.H., Sultān Firoz Shah ascended the imperial throne at Dehli, with full power and great pomp; and spread the gospel of justice and generosity, and high and low, and in fact all mankind, had all their desires satisfied; and great joy appeared among all the people, both great and small.

*Verse.*

The king of fortune high, the breaker of his foes!  
Under auspicious stars, did on the throne ascend;  
His glorious greatness, with success and triumph crowned  
Did all the age in newest joy and gladness steep.

On the 5th Safar, in the year 753 A.H., the Sultān marched towards the Sarmur mountains, for a pleasure excursion, and for hunting. Most of the Zamīndārs of the country came, and did homage to him, with the ring of bondage in their ears, and the saddle-cloth of service on their shoulders.

*Verse.*

What brightness did his grandeur all the earth encase !  
 What shouts of joy and triumph did to the sky ascend !  
 Was it the dust his army raised, or a breeze from paradise,  
 That into men's lives the fragrance of peace instilled !

On Monday, the 3rd Jamādi-ul-Awwal, of the year, the Prince Muhammad Khān was born in Dehli. The Sultān gave great feasts, and conferred rewards and favours on the people. In the following year, 754 A.H., he hunted in Kalānūr and in the skirts of the hills in that neighbourhood. At the time of returning to the capital, he laid the foundations of lofty edifices on the bank of the Sarsuti. He conferred the title of Shaikh-ul-Islām on Shaikh Sadraddin, son of Shaikh Bahāuddin Zakariāh. He honoured Malik Kabul, who was the deputy Vazīr of the empire, with the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and made him the Vazīr; and bestowed the title of Khudāwand Khān on Khudāwand-Zādah Kawāmuddin, and made him the Vakildar. Malik Tātār became Tātār Khān; and Malik Sharaf, the Naib Vakildar. Saif-ul-Mulk was made the Shikār Beg; and Khudāwand Zādah Imad-ul-Mulk, the Silahdār. 'Ain-ul-Mulk received the post of Musta'fi and Musharraf of the Diwān and on Malik Hasan Amīr-i-Mirān was conferred the position of Istifā-i-Kul.

In the month of Shawwāl, in the year 754 A.H., the Sultān left Khān-i-Jahān, with full powers, in the capital, and started with a large army on an expedition to Lakhnauti; so that he might put an end to the tyranny of Ilīās Hājī, who had given himself the title of Sultān Shamsuddin; and having built a great city at Panduah had extended his rule to the boundary of Benares. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur, Udaya Singh, the headman of that place, came and did homage, and having presented suitable tribute, including two elephants, became the recipient of imperial favour. Ray Kapur, also, paid the tribute of several years, and both of them joined his army. Ilīās Hājī left Panduah, and betook himself

to Ekdālah, which was the strongest fort in Bangālah. The Sultān arrived there on the 7th Rabi'ul-Awwal. The same day there was a great battle; and on the 29th of that month, the Sultān's army left the neighbourhood of the city, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges. On the 5th Rabi-ul-ākhar Iliās Hājī came out of the fort, with the intention of giving battle; but he made a detour, and fled, and took shelter in the fort again. Forty-four elephants, and his canopy and standard and a quantity of war materials, and many of his retainers, fell into the Sultān's hands; and a large number of his foot soldiers were slain. On the second day after this, the Sultān issued an order for the release of the captives, and on the 27th Rabi-ul-ākhar, owing to the heavy rains, he agreed to a peace; and started on the march back to Dehli. He crossed the Ganges at the ferry at Mānikpur, and on the 12th Sha'bān arrived at Dehli. He then laid the foundation of the city of Firozābād, on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna).

In the year 756 A.H., he went to hunt in the direction of Dibālpur, and excavating a canal from the river Satlad (Sutlej) took it to Jhajhar a distance of 48 karohs. The next year he excavated a canal from the river Jūn, in the vicinity of Mandal and Sarmur; and uniting seven other canals with it, took it as far as Hānsī. From that place he extended it to Alistn, and there laying the foundations of a fort, gave it the name of Hisār Firozā. He then had an extensive reservoir excavated in front of the fort, filled a channel with water from it, and excavated another canal from the Khākhar river, and conducting it past the foot of the fort of Sarsuti, took it to the new canal of Karah. He erected a fort between these canals, and named it Firozābād. He excavated another canal from the river Budhi, and carried it to the reservoir already mentioned; and further to a point beyond it.

In the month of Zilhijeh of the same year, on the day of the 'Id-uz-Zoha, came the *farmān* of Abul Fateh, the Caliph of Egypt, confirming the kingdoms of Hind and Sind on the Sultān. It was accepted by the latter, as a cause of happiness and pride and gratulations. The same year Iliās Hājī sent fitting tribute, and became the recipient of the imperial favour. At this time the entire country of Hindustān was in the possession of the Sultān except Lakhnauti and the Dakhin; since the death of Sultān Muḥammad



Tughlak Shāh, Sultān Shamsuddīn Iliās Hājī was in possession of the former; and Hasan Kāka of the whole of the latter, the Sultān having concluded a treaty with him, on his agreeing to send tribute.

In the year 758 A.H., Zafar Khān Fāzi came from Sonārgāon with two elephants and attached himself to the court. He was received with favour and received the office of Naib Vazīr. In Zihijeh of the year 759 A.H., the Sultān started towards Sāmānah, and while engaged in hunting there, he received intelligence of a Mughal army, which had come to the vicinity of Lahore, and had returned without any conflict. The Sultān then returned in the direction to Dehli. About the end of that year, Tājuddīn came with other nobles as ambassadors, from Lakhnauti; presented valuable and elegant articles as tribute; and was honoured with the royal favour. The Sultān sent Malik Saifuddīn, the keeper of the royal elephants, with Arabian and Turki horses and other rich presents, in the company of Malik Tājuddīn, to Sultān Shamsuddīn. In the spring, the news came of the death of the latter, and of the succession of his son Sultān Sikandar. Malik Saifuddīn sent a memorial to the Sultān notifying these events. The Sultān ordered that the presents which had been sent for Sultān Shamsuddīn should be brought back; the horses should be made over to the army of Bihār and the ambassadors should be conducted to Karah. After that, in the year 760 A.H., the Sultān marched towards Lakhnauti, leaving Khān-i-Jahān, in Dehli, to act as Regent during his absence. At this time, he appointed Tātār Khān governor of the territory extending from Ghazni to Multān. On the way to Lakhnauti he halted for a few days at Zafarpur on account of the heavy rains. At this time Shaikh-Zādah Bustāmī, who had been banished [from the kingdom], brought a robe of honour from the Caliph of Egypt, and received the title of Ā'azam-ul-Mulk. Sayyad Rasuldār was at the same time sent, with the ambassadors who had come from Lakhnauti, to the court of Sultān Sikandar. The latter sent five elephants to Dehli, with Sayyad Rasuldār, with other valuable and beautiful presents. Before the arrival of Sayyad Rasuldār 'Alam Khān had come as an ambassador from Lakhnauti; and the Sultān started towards Lakhnauti. On the way, he conferred the paraphernalia of state, such as a canopy, a durbāsh, elephants, and a red

pavilion, on Prince Fateh Khān and directed coins to be struck in his name, and officers to be appointed under him.

When the Sultān arrived at Panduah, Sultān Sikandar took shelter in the fort of Ekdālah. Sultān Firoz encamped in its neighbourhood, and carried on the siege. After a few days, Sultān Sikandar prayed for protection; and agreed to send a yearly tribute of elephants and other valuables. The Sultān then started on his return journey, on the 20th Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year. When he arrived at Jaunpūr, the rains commenced. He passed the rainy season in that place; and in the month of Zi-hijjeh of the same year, he started by way of Bihār for Jājnagar which is situated on the border of the country of Karah Katankali. When he reached the last-named place, he left Malik Qutb-ud-dīn, the brother of Zafar Khān, with the camp and the army; and himself hastened forward, with a small retinue. When he arrived at Sankrah, Rāi Sārbin the Rājah of the place fled, and his daughter fell into the Sultān's hands. The latter called her 'daughter,' and protected her. Ahmad Khān who had fled from Lakhnauti, and had taken shelter in the fortress of Ranthambor, came and rendered homage to him on the way, and was dignified and honoured with great favours. When the Sultān crossed the Mahānadi and arrived in the city of Banāras, which was the residence and stronghold of the Rāy of Jājnagar, the latter fled and escaped into Tilang. The Sultān did not pursue him, but commenced to hunt. In the meantime the Rāy sent emissaries and begged for peace. He sent thirty-three elephants, and other valuable and elegant presents. The Sultān at this time returned and proceeded towards Padmāvati, which is a favourite grazing ground of elephants, to hunt for these animals. He caught thirty-three of them alive, and killed two. Zia-ul-Mulk composed the following quatrain on this subject :—

The Sultān, who with justice, to greatness did attain,  
Did like the glorious sun the entire world o'ercrown !  
To Jājnagar he came, the elephants to hunt ;  
He captured three and thirty, and two he killed.

From that place he came to Karah by successive marches, and in the month of Rajab in the year 772 A.H., he arrived in Dehli.

After some time he rode towards a canal which is called

Aslimah. This comprises (is formed by the junction of) two broad perennial streams separated by a lofty dike. The Sultān ordered that fifty thousand beldārs (spademen) should be collected, and directed to dig the canal. Inside the dike very large bones of elephants and men were discovered; for example the bones of a man's arm which was three yards in length. It had become petrified in part, and was still bone in part. At the same time he separated Sarhind which in reality belonged to the revenue division of Sāmānah; and formed the country to a distance of ten *karoḥs* from Sarhind into a separate district; and placed it in charge of Zīā-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-dīn Abu Rajā. He erected a fort there and named it Firozpur. From that place he marched towards Nagarkot. When he reached the skirts of the hills, and people brought him some ice, he said, "When Sultān Muhammad Shāh, on whom be the mercy of God! who was my master, reached this place, and his attendants brought him some iced sharbat, he did not drink any, as I was not present." He then ordered that a few elephant and camel loads of candy which they had in the camp should be used for making iced sharbat, to be distributed among the soldiers, in memory of Sultān Muhammad Shāh. The Raja of Nagarkot, after a siege and some fighting, hastened with his sons to do homage to the Sultān; and placed the saddle cloth of service on their shoulders. The Sultān treated him with kindness. He changed the name of Nagarkot, and called it Muhammadābād after Sultan Muhammad deceased. At this time people represented to the Sultān, that at the time when Sikandar <sup>1</sup>Zulqarnain had reached this place, the people of the country fashioned an image of <sup>2</sup>Nushāba and placed it in a house, and

<sup>1</sup> Zulqarnain means bicornous or two horned. Jupiter Ammon, Alexander the Great, and 'Alī bin Abī Tālib were among others called Zulqarnain. See for details Encyclopedia of Islām, vol. I, p. 691.

<sup>2</sup> Nushāba was a queen of a country called Barda' بردع. This country was pillaged, and she was taken away as a captive by the Russians! She was rescued by Alexander the Great and afterwards became his mistress. See the Sikandar nāmāh. It is difficult to say where Barda' was. There is one Barda' which was once the largest town in the Caucasus, but is now a village with ruins on the Terter at the confluence of that river with the Qura. Briggs in his translation of Ferishtah calls Nushāba wife of Alexander the Great, but Ferishtah's text does not say so. Col. Ranking commenting on Briggs tries

now it had become an object of worship to the people; and there were one thousand and three hundred books of the ancient Brāhmins, in this temple, which is known as Jālāmukhi.<sup>1</sup> And the Sultān sent for the learned men of that tribe; and ordered some of the books to be translated. Among these, 'Izzuddīn Khālīd Khān, who was among the poets of that age, translated into verse a book on natural philosophy and auguries and omens, and called it the *Dalā'el-i-Firoz Shāhī*. This *Faqīr* has read it. In truth it is a <sup>2</sup>book containing various philosophical facts both of science and practice.

In short, after the conquest of Nagarkot, the Sultān marched towards *Thatha*, and when he reached it, the *Jām* who was the ruler of the place, entrenched himself and relying on the strength of the water, waged war for a time; and the Sultān retired to *Gujrāt* on account of the dearness of grain, and the want of fodder, and the great extent of water. Passing the rainy season there, he again returned to *Thatha*. He conferred the government of *Gujrāt* on *Zafar Khān* and dismissed<sup>3</sup> *Nizām-ul-Mulk*. The latter came with his dependants to Dehli and became the *Naiib* (deputy) *Vazīr*. When the Sultān reached *Thatha*, the *Jām* begged for safety, and rendered homage. The meaning, full of truth, of the couplet:

For protection he prayed. I granted it to him

With humbleness he came, his life I gave to him.

having been accepted by his enlightened mind, the Sultān brought him with all the *Zamindārs* of that country to Dehli.

In the year 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-Jahan died and <sup>4</sup>Jun or Shāh his eldest son had the title conferred on him.

to identify Nushāba with one of Alexander the Great's wives, and says that if she was really one of them, then she must have been the same as Roxana whose name might have been written as *روشانه*; which might have been perverted by copyists' errors to *نوشانه*. I think Nushāba is entirely mythical.

<sup>1</sup> Col. Ranking calls it Jawāllamukhī. The correct transliteration of the Sanskrit name is Jvālāmukhī which means of the Flaming Mouth. See his translation of the *Muntakhābāt-ut-tawārīkh*, vol. I, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> Badāouni describes it as 'moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects'; *ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> Amīr Husain, son of the late Amīr Miran, (Elliot III, 326).

<sup>4</sup> The name is given variously in the MSS. as Junān Shāh and Khubān Shāh. He remained Vazīr for twenty years, but towards the end of the reign, enmity

In the year 773 A.H. (1371-72) A.D. Zafar Khān died in Guj-rāt and his eldest son was invested with the title of Zafar Khān and the government of Guj-rāt. On the 12th of the month of *Safar* in the year 776 A.H. Shāhzādāh Fateh Khān died at <sup>1</sup> Kahtur.

In the year 776 A.H. Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghānī represented to the Sultān that he would send forty lakhs tankahs over and above the fixed revenue of Guj-rāt, and four hundred elephants and two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves every year, if he was appointed governor of Guj-rāt. The Sultān ordered that if Zīā-ul-Mulk Malik Shams-ud-dīn Ābu Rajā, who was the naib of Zafar Khān, agreed to this enhancement, Guj-rāt should be left in his charge, Malik Shams-ud-dīn did not agree; and Shams Dāmghānī had a <sup>2</sup> belt of gold lace and a lance and a silver *chaudol* conferred on him, and sent to Guj-rāt in place of Zafar Khān<sup>3</sup> deceased. But as he was unable to furnish his promised contribution, he laid the foundation of rebellion, and uniting with some of the Mīr Sadahs<sup>4</sup> of Guj-rāt, such as Sheikh-Farīd-ud-dīn and other leaders commenced hostilities. The Sultān sent an army and Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghānī was killed and his head was sent to the Sultān. After his being killed Guj-rāt was made over to Malik Mufarrah Sultānī and he received the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk.

In the year 779 A.H. (1377-78 A.D.) the Sultān marched towards Itāwah and <sup>5</sup> Akhal, and having treated Rai<sup>6</sup> Sipar dādhāran,

broke out between him and prince Muhammad Khān, afterwards Sultān Muhammad Shāh.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the place is not given by Badaoni. The MSS. have کہتور, the lithographed edition کہتوار. MS. B. has در کہتور نہ عالم بقا شگفت و سلطان. حزن الم بسیار نمود. Kahtur or Kahtwar was the old name for Rohilkhand.

<sup>2</sup> These were the insignia of office. Col. Ranking calls them a yellow girdle and a silver *chaudol* in his translation of the Muntakhābāt-ut-Tawārīkh (see vol. I, p. 324), and in the Persian text as edited by him (vol. I, p. 251) the کمر بند is described as زرد but the چوڑیول is correctly spelt.

<sup>3</sup> So it is in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. but as we have just seen his son received the title of Zafar Khān and the government of Guj-rāt. The son's appointment however, did not apparently take effect.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. leaders of hundreds, some kind of headmen.

<sup>5</sup> Col. Ranking calls it Akchak. Ferishtah calls it اکھل; the lith. edn. of the Tab-i-Akbarī and two of the MSS. write it اکھل while the fifth omits it. [no name.]

<sup>6</sup> This name is variously given in the MSS. and the lith. edn., Badaoni gives

and all the Zamindārs of Itāwah who had once fought with the Sultān's army and been routed, with favour and consideration, sent them with their wives and children to Dehli. He built forts at Akhal and <sup>1</sup> Batlāhi; and left Malik-zādah Firoz, son of Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Turk, with a number of other nobles there. Firozpur Batlāhi was also made over to him and Akhal to Malik Afghān. The Sultān then returned to Dehli. In the same year the ruler of Oudh who was accompanying the Sultān died, and the province was made over to Malik <sup>2</sup> Saifuddin, his eldest son.

In the year 781 A.H. (1379 A.D.) he marched to <sup>3</sup> Sāmānah and Malik Qabul, the governor, brought much tribute, and then passing through Ambāla and Shāhābād he came to the hills of <sup>4</sup> Sānur; and after receiving tribute from the Rāy of Sarmur and other Rāys, returned towards Dehli. On the way news arrived, that <sup>5</sup> Kharku the headman of Kaithar had invited Saiyad Muhammad, the governor of Badāun and Saiyad 'Alā-ud-dīn his brother as guests in his own house and had killed them both. And in the year 782 A.H. (1380 A.D.) the Sultān marched towards Kaithar for avenging the murder of the Saiyads; Kharku fled: the country of Kaithar was devastated. Kharku fled to the Kamāun hills. The Sultān having plundered that country, made over Badāun to Malik Qabul, and leaving Malik <sup>6</sup> Khitāb Afghān at <sup>7</sup> Sambal for punishing Kharku made that country his hunting ground, so that it was completely destroyed and desolated.

<sup>1</sup> This is called بٹلاہی or بٹلاہی in the MSS. Badāonī calls it Batlāhi; Ferishtah calls it تیلای Tīlāi.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. call him یوسف الدین.

<sup>3</sup> Sāmānah was a revenue Division of the Punjab which originally included Sarhind, but the latter place was separated from it and made into a separate district by Sultān Firoz Shāh, (see ante p. 248).

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. calls it سانور the MSS calls it سانور except one which calls it سانوار. Badāonī calls it سنور کوه بابہ سنور.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. calls him Kharku, Khukhu, and Khukar. Badāonī calls him Rāy Lakhukhar, headman of Kaithal. In his Eng. trans. Col. Ranking calls him Khūkhār Rāi, chief of Kaithar. Kaithar (same as Kahtar) is Rohilkhand. See Thomas Pathan Kings, p. 325, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> He was doubtless the man in whose charge Akhal was left. Ferishtah calls him Malik Da'ud Afghān.

<sup>7</sup> Various written Sambal and Sambahal in the lith. edn. and the MSS.

In the year 787 A.H. he built a fort at <sup>1</sup> Beuli seven *karohs* from Badāun, and named it Ferozpur, and as he did not build any other fort after this it has become known as Ākhirnūr. During this year the Sultān was overcome by infirmity and old age<sup>2</sup>; and Khān-i-Jahān obtained complete mastery over him. He wished to seize Shāhzādah Muhammad Khān and other noblemen such as Daryā Khān son of Zafar Khān, and Malik Y'aqub Muhammad Hājī and Malik Shams-ud-dīn, and Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, who were his friends and well-wishers, and make them completely helpless. He informed the Sultān that the Shāhzādah in conjunction with the above-named noblemen intended to rise against the Sultān. The latter believing his words gave orders that the noblemen should be arrested. The Shāhzādah heard this news, and for some days did not go to see his father; Khān-i-Jahān sent for <sup>3</sup> Dariyā Khān on the pretext of taking the accounts of Mahobah, and imprisoned him in his own house. The Shāhzādah hearing this news became perplexed and frightened, and went to see his father<sup>4</sup> and impressed on him that Khān-i-Jahān wanted to attempt a rebellion, and wished to remove the great nobles, and afterwards to seize him. The Sultān gave orders for slaying Khān-i-Jahān, and released Dariyā Khān from custody. The Shāhzādah directed Malik Y'aqub to keep the horses in the special<sup>5</sup> stables ready and also that Malik Qutb-ud-dīn the keeper of the elephants should array them and begin a fight. At the end of the night the Shāhzādah attacked Khān-i-Jahān with great force. Khān-i-Jahān came out of his house with some men and commenced fighting.

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Sambal was in Rohilkhand, 23 miles S.W. of Moradabad. (See note 4 Col. Ranking's trans. of Badāonī, p. 364.)

<sup>1</sup> Variouslly called بېرلی or هولي in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāonī calls it بېرلی; and Col. Ranking thinks that the place was possibly so called from the abundance of the *Babul* or *Acacia Arabica* trees there. Ferishtah calls it بېرلی. Basuli.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says he was now 90 years of age.

<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Badāonī. Mahobah was a district near Karah, it was 54 miles to the South of Hamīrpūr at the junction of the Betwa and the Jumna.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishtah says that he went concealed in a woman's litter disguised as his own wife, but this is not mentioned by the earlier historians.

<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether this means the Sultān's or the Shāhzādah's stables.

At last he was wounded and being discomfited went into the house, and going out by another way took refuge with <sup>1</sup>Kuka Chauhān the zamindār of Miwāt. The bādshāhādah destroyed his house, and put to death <sup>2</sup>Malik 'Imād-ud-dowlah and Malik Shams-ud-dīn and Malik Sāleh who had in the fight fallen into his hands. After this event the Sultān made the Shāh-zādah <sup>3</sup>Vazīr with full power; and having made over to him all the paraphernalia of sovereignty such as horses and troops and elephants, and conferring on him the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn-wad-duniyā Muhammad Shāh; betook himself to devotion and service of God. On Fridays <sup>4</sup> the Khutbah was read in the names of the two bādshāhs.

Sultān Muḥammad Shāh ascended the throne in the month of Sh'abān of the year 789 A.H. (1387 A.D.), and keeping the officers of State in their various offices, gave them robes of honour. Malik Y'aqub was invested with the title of Sikandar Khān and Gujrat was made over to him. Malik Rāju received the title of Mubārīz Khān. Kamāl 'Umr that of Dastur Khān, and Samā'-'Umr that of Mu'īn-ul-Mulk. Malik Y'aqub who had received the title of Sikandar Khān was sent with a powerful army against Khān-i-Jahān. When the army reached the neighbourhood of Miwāt, Kukā Chauhān seized

<sup>1</sup> Bādāonī calls him **کوکا چوهان** زمیندار میوات in one place, and **کوکا زمیندار میوات** in another. Chauhān is the name of a Rajput tribe. Miwāt was the country of the Meus, a tribe of obscure origin claiming to be Rājputa, but probably of mixed origin, closely allied to the Mīnās. They probably became converts to Islām at the time of Muḥmūd of Ghaznī. Miwāt lay South of Dehli, and in Mughal times was part of the Sūbah of Agra. The chief towns were Namoul, Alwar, Tijārah and Rewari. It now forms part of the districts of Mutra and Gurgaon, a considerable part of Alwar and some part of Bharatpur, see Hunter Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. IX, pp. 418 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> Some words here are unintelligible; the lith. edn. has **بهرار بیجائی** the MSS. have **نفع خانی** و **نفعانی** و **نفع خانی** and **نفع خانی**. It is either the name of some person; or means with a thousand maltreatment. Bādāonī does not give the names of any of Khān-i-Jahān's partisans, but merely says **چندی راجا اصرار کہ موافق خانجہان بودند**.

<sup>3</sup> **وکیل مطلق** some of the MSS. read **وزیر مطلق**. Bādāonī says he was made **وزیر مطلق العنان**, Vazīr with absolute power.

<sup>4</sup> One MS. reads **after جمعة** رجب سال مذکور و **جمعة** i.e., on Friday the 19th Rajao of the year mentioned.



Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khān. The latter having put him to death, sent his head to Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh and went towards Gujrāt. The same year Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh went towards the Sarmur hills on a hunting expedition. While he was engaged in hunting, news came that <sup>1</sup> Malik Mufarraḥ and the leaders of the hundreds of Gujrāt had combined together and put Sikandar Khān to death, and the troops that had been with him, had been dispersed. Some of them who were wounded came with <sup>2</sup> Sipah Sālār to Dehli. Muhammad Shāh hearing this news came to Dehli; but without attempting to avenge the death of Sikandar Khān became immersed in luxury and enjoyment; and owing to his negligence, great disorders occurred in the affairs of the State.

<sup>3</sup> Five months after these occurrences the troops of the Sultān turned against Muhammad Shāh, on account of the envy and malice which they felt against Samā-ud-dīn and Kamāl-ud-dīn, and laid the foundation of hostility. Muhammad Shāh sent Malik Zahir-ud-dīn Lāhori to put down the mutiny; but when he reached the field where the troops of Firoz Shāh were gathered together, the latter stoned and wounded him, and he came in that condition into the presence of Shāhzādah Muhammad Shāh; and the latter, having collected forces, went and confronted the Sultān's troops and fighting began. Towards the end of the night the Shāhzādah's troops fought with vigour, and overwhelmed the Sultān's army. The latter went and sought the protection of the Sultān. The fighting went on for two days. On the third day when the slaves (troops) of Firoz Shāh were reduced to great straits, they brought the Sultān to the field of battle, and shewed him to the troops. When Muhammad Shāh's soldiers and elephant-drivers saw <sup>4</sup> the Sultān (Firoz Shāh) they gave up fighting and <sup>5</sup> came towards

<sup>1</sup> He had been made Governor of Gujrāt with the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk when Shams-ud-dīn Dāmghānī was put to death. (See ante.)

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear who this man was; the word means the leader of troops. The lith. edn. has سید سالار but the MSS. have سپه سالار. Badāonī also has سپه سالار.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. has چند but all the MSS. have پنج. Samā-ud-dīn and Kamāl-ud-dīn were favourites of Muhammad Shāh.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the troops were devoted to Firoz Shāh.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. and four of the MSS. have راندند but one MS. has رانند, ran.

him, and Sultān Muhammad's army broke up and were scattered; and he, with the few who were left, went away towards the Sarmur hills. The Sultān's (Firoz Shāh's) troops, who were about one *lākh* in number including horsemen and foot soldiers, got into the palaces of Muhammad Shāh and his friends, and begun to pillage and destroy. The Sultān listening to the words of <sup>1</sup>malicious persons was annoyed with Muhammad Shāh, made <sup>2</sup>Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, who was his grandson, his heir, and placed him on the throne. Tughlaq Shāh brought <sup>3</sup>Amir Hasan, the son-in-law of the Sultān, who was among the special friends of Muhammad Shāh, into the palace and had him beheaded.

He also seized <sup>4</sup>Ghālīb Khān, the Amīr of Sāmānah, on account of his friendship with Muhammad Shāh, banished him and sent him to the country of Bihār; and gave Sāmānah to Malik <sup>5</sup>Sultān Shah.

On the <sup>6</sup>18th of the month of Ramazān Sultan Firoz Shāh <sup>7</sup>died. Couplets:

<sup>8</sup> To knock down heads is the nature of the skies.

One should not draw aside his head from what is writ.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. and two MSS. have *ارباب حسد* (two MSS. have *ارباب عریض*) and one *ارباب حسد و عریض*. Badā'oni had *ارباب عریض*, interested persons.

<sup>2</sup> Badā'oni correctly calls him Tughlaq Khān. He became Tughlaq Shāh when he was placed on the throne. He became Ghāsi ud dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

<sup>3</sup> Badā'oni calls him Mir Hasan.

<sup>4</sup> One of the MSS. call him *شاه علی* 'Alī Shāh, but the lith. edn. and the other MSS. and Badā'oni call him *شاه غالب*. Sāmānah was about 25 miles S. W. of Hānsī and 100 miles E. of Dehli.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. calls him Malik Sultān, one MS. Malik Sultān Shāh but the others call him Malik Sultan Shāh. Badā'oni does not say to whom the government of Sāmānah was entrusted.

<sup>6</sup> In the Persian text of Badā'oni edited by Col. Ranking the date is given as *هجری ۸۶۵*, but the Eng. trans. has 16th.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of the simple *وفات یافت* of an author, Badā'oni has *از زحمت وجود خدای ناکته به عالم بقا شفاقت* attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence. Badā'oni also says <sup>8</sup> that he was buried on the borders of the Hauza Khān, and over his tomb a lofty dome was erected.

<sup>8</sup> These lines with four others which precede them, but which have been

Who knows what this stirred up dust  
 With what blood of hearts is mixed ?  
 All paths, if the seeing eye is not blind,  
 Is but the skin of the elk and the wild ass's shagreen.

He ruled the world for thirty-eight years and some months; and <sup>1</sup> 'wafât-i-Firoz' gives the date of his death. This just bādshāh left among the people many regulations of justice and generosity and many rules of safety and protection. Among all his regulations three were excellent. The first regulation was that he entirely gave up punishment, and never punished any Musalman or (in fact) any man <sup>2</sup>; and on account of his many gifts and gratuities, and his comforting the hearts of the people, he had no need for punishments. Although punishment is a very great part of sovereignty, yet his praiseworthy manners, and his excellent qualities became the cause of justice and equity among his people, and the paths of tyranny and oppression were completely closed; and no created being had any power during the period of his rule of causing pain to any one. The second regulation was this, that he demanded revenue from the raiyats according to the produce of their lands, and their power to pay; and remitted all enhancements and cesses, and never lent his ear to the words of any person in the matter of the raiyats: and this regulation became the cause of the extension of cultivation, and the happiness of his raiyats and subjects. The third regulation was this, that for the government and administration of the various <sup>3</sup> divisions of his empire, he

omitted by our author are also quoted by Badaoni. I have attempted a more literal translation than that of Col. Ranking. The last line means as Col. Ranking has explained that the paths are not covered with dust, but with the remains of living animals.

<sup>1</sup> Badaoni gives two chronograms (1). وفات فیروز given by our author, and (2) نقل فیروز شاه, but says that the latter is deficient by one unit.

<sup>2</sup> This of course is not quite correct. See ante for the way he treated Kharku for the murder of the Saiyads. Kharku deserved punishment, but the whole of his country was laid waste and many innocent people must have suffered grievously; and see also post. for his own account of how he treated infidels, sectaries, &c. بد مذمبان، ملعدان، مبتدعان و مرانان.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. has ولايت but most of the MSS. have more correctly ولايت.

employed <sup>1</sup> honest and trustworthy and God-fearing officers ; and never took into his service any evil-spirited or wicked person, and never made any such person a governor or an amīr (nobleman). And in conformity with the rule, that men are of the religion of their rulers, all the people imitated their ruler ; and the rules of equity and justice became customary among them, and no single person had any power of harassment and oppression ; and perfect peace and security was produced and reigned among high and low. His charities and benefactions and gifts and gratuities were distinguished beyond those of any other Sultān of Hindustān

A brochure compiled by Sultān Fīroz Shāh, in which he collected the events of his reign, and which he named *Fatuhāt Fīrozshāhi*, (the victories of Fīroz Shāh) has come under my eyes. In accordance with the rule, that the words of kings are the kings of words, some of the particular matters contained in it, have, for the sake of their auspiciousness and grace, been inserted here ; so that the goodness of the disposition, and the amiability of the qualities of this *hādshāh* of the angelic nature may become known to inquisitive and far seeing persons. This King, the refuge of justice, erected a lofty dome on the <sup>2</sup> *Jāma* Masjid of Fīrozābād which was octagonal. On the eight sides of this dome, the contents of this book which has been considered to be divided into eight chapters have been inscribed on stone. One chapter is about the endowment of Masjids and in it are written directions for payment of the endowment fund by the person who is to disburse it, and about which much stress is laid. In another chapter he says that in former times the blood of Muslims was shed

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has *دین و دیانت* most of the MSS. have *مردم با دین و دیانت*.

<sup>2</sup> It is said in the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhi* that the Sultān completely restored and renovated the Masjid-i-Jāma of old Delhi which had been erected by Sultān Muẓ-ud-dīn Sam and had fallen into disrepair and decay. I suppose this is the *Jāma* Masjid mentioned in the text, but nothing is said in the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhi*, or at least in the extracts given in Elliot Vol. II that the contents of that brochure were inscribed on it. Badami does not mention the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhi* at all. After mentioning the death of the *hādshāh* he gives an account of the poets of the period. For all references to the *Fatuhāt Fīroz Shāhi* in subsequent notes see Elliot's History, vol. III.



Couplet : Better than treasure are hearts of friends composed ;  
Better an empty treasury, than men in pain.

And I have decided that no revenue should be levied which is contrary to the law of the prophet on whom be peace ! And before this it was the custom, that out of the property taken from the enemy a fifth part was given to the soldier (the captor), and four shares were taken into the treasury ; and I directed, in conformity with the holy law, that a fifth part only would be taken into the treasury. And further, I cast out from my kingdom <sup>1</sup>all men of bad religion, and heretics, and promulgators of new tenets, and hypocrites, who had become the cause of the going astray of the people ; and I abrogated and abolished their customs and habits and books. Further it had become customary with the people of the age to wear <sup>2</sup>silken garments and to use silver and gold. I prohibited all these and gave directions in consonance with the law of the prophet. Further <sup>3</sup>women both Musalman, and Kafir,

<sup>1</sup> The words in the text are *مبتدعان و مراثنان* و *بد مذہب*.  
*بد مذہب* is any man of a bad or wrong religion ; *مبتدع* is a heretic, an unbeliever, one who denies the resurrection of the dead ; *مبتدع* is a heretic, a founder of a new religion ; *مراثنی* is a hypocrite. In the *Fatuhât*, the *بد مذہب* people are 'Shi'as also called *Rawâfiz* ; the *مبتدعان و مراثنان* were sects who are, said to have met at night with their women and indulged in wine and promiscuous and incestuous intercourse ; and the *مبتدعان و مراثنان* were the followers of (1) Ahmad Sahâni of Delhi, who called him God ; (2) Rukn-ud-din also of Delhi, who called him *Malâdî* ; and (3) of a pupil of 'Am Mahmûd (عین مامور) who set himself up as a Sheikh in Gujrât and collected disciples who called him God.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Fatuhât*, the Sultan forbade the wearing of garments made of silk and gold brocades, and only allowed garments approved by the law of the prophet, with trimmings of gold brocade, embroidery or braiding not exceeding 4 inches in breadth. He also forbade the use of gold and silver vessels, at the royal table ; and ornaments of gold and jewels on his own sword-belts and quivers. He also ordered the removal of all pictures and portraits from ornamented garments and robes of honour bestowed by him, and also from all saddles, bridles, collars, censers, cups, goblets, flagons, ewers, dishes, tents, curtains, and chairs.

<sup>3</sup> The *Fatuhât* mentions Musalman women going in palankeens and on horses, etc., or in large parties on foot and being followed by rakes ; but make no mention of Kafir women going to temples.

went to the tombs of holy men and to temples, and became the cause of a variety of disturbances. I prohibited this, and erected *masjids* in place of idol-temples. Further I repaired and rebuilt mosques, and houses dedicated to pious and charitable uses, built by former Sultans, such as<sup>1</sup> mosques, and houses for *faqīrs*, and colleges, and wells and reservoirs, and bridges and burial places which had become dilapidated, and made endowments for their maintenance. And I made the hearts of such of the sons and heirs of the men whom my master, Sultān Muhammad, (on whom be the mercy of God!), had for the sake of punishment put to death, or whose limbs he had ordered to be cut off, by the gift of rewards and stipends, and taking from them letters cancelling the responsibility of the Sultān, and having affixed the seals of the great and noble men have placed them in the Mausoleum of the Sultān. And further whenever I heard of a recluse and a *faqīr*, I considered it my duty to go to him and to comfort his heart. Further among the soldiers and *amīrs*, whoever had attained to a great age I made them seek absolution by my counsels and precepts, and granted stipends and gifts on them, and directed them to occupy themselves with deeds for (their salvation in) the next world.

The following is a list of the buildings and other structures for pious and charitable uses founded and erected by him : water courses and canals, fifty in number ; Mosques, forty in number ; Colleges, thirty in number, houses for *faqīrs*, twenty in number, palaces, one hundred in number, inns, two hundred in number ; towns, thirty in number, reservoirs, one hundred in number ; hospitals, five in number ; mausoleums, one hundred in number ; public baths, ten in number ; minarets, ten in number ; wells, one hundred and fifty in number ; bridges, one hundred and fifty in number ; gardens, innumerable ; and deeds of endowment were written for each structure and remissions (of revenue), fixed for them ; and attendants and servants were appointed for all mosques, and colleges and *Khānqāhs*, and baths and wells ; and stipends were fixed for them ; and the particulars of these, are too long to note.

Further he says that they gave him poison twice and he took it

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<sup>1</sup> The *Fatūhāt* gives a list of these.

<sup>1</sup> knowingly, and he received no hurt. The other occurrences mentioned in the brochure have already been mentioned in this history, so no attempt has been made to repeat them here. May the great God keep him immersed in His mercy !

## SULTÂN TUGHLAQ SHĀH.

Sultân Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fatch Khān, son of Firoz Shāh. He ascended the throne in the palace of Firozābād on the <sup>2</sup> 18th of the month of Ramazān, 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) by the help of certain amīrs, and assumed the title of Ghiās-uddīn Tughlaq Shāh. He appointed <sup>3</sup> Malik Firoz the son of Malik Tāj-ud-dīn to the post of *Vazīr* and gave him the title of Khān-i-Jahān. Ghiās-ud-dīn Tarmuzi got the post of Silāhdār (the keeper of arms); and releasing Malik Firoz 'Ali from prison he gave him the appointment of <sup>4</sup> Jamdār, which had been his father's post. Malik Firoz Ali and Bahādur Nāhur were sent to attack Sultân Muhammed Shāh; and Sultân Shāh the governor of Sāmānah, and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn and some other nobles were also named for this duty. In the month of Shawwāl of that year the army reached the Sarmur hills. Shāhzāda Muhammed Shāh retired from that place, and going into the hilly country took shelter in the fort of Baknārī; and as Tughlaq Shāh's army pursued him there, he moved from that place, till he came to the fort of Nagarkot, and the army (of Tughlaq Shāh) <sup>5</sup> returned from pursuit.

As Sultan Tughlaq Shah on account of <sup>6</sup> the vigour and fresh

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. and four of the MSS. say knowingly <sup>2</sup> نادانسته; only one MS. says not knowing it, نادانسته.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not give the date.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī does not mention these appointments, nor does he give the names of the *amīrs* sent to attack Muhammad Shāh. He says that <sup>4</sup> مراد نامدار famous amīrs, were sent against Muhammad Shāh.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. has جامداري which I have retained in the text. Three of the MSS. have جهانداري, sovereignty, and the others جانداري keeping of life; جانداري probably means protection, i.e. perhaps the command of the king's bodyguard; جامداري would also mean the same.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says the army turned back <sup>6</sup> از سر مبعوت راه on account of the difficulties of the way.

<sup>6</sup> Badāonī says nothing about this nor about Tughlaq Shāh's imprisoning



ness of his youth, drowned himself in luxury and pleasure, the work of the government and the duties of the sovereignty were not attended to, and errors began to occur in the administration. Tughlaq Shāh on account of the deficiency of his experience and caution imprisoned Sālār Shāh who was his uterine brother; and Abu Bakr the son of <sup>1</sup>Zafar Khān who was his nephew became anxious and frightened, and sequestered himself and made his escape. <sup>2</sup>Malik Rukn-ud-din the deputy *Vazīr* and other amirs joined him and raised a revolt and they killed <sup>3</sup>Malik Mubārak Kabir at the door of Tughlaq Shāh's <sup>4</sup>palace in Firozābād. Tughlaq Shāh knowing the violence and the large number of the rebels, left the palace with <sup>5</sup>Khān-i-Jahān by a door towards the river Jumna. Malik Rukn-ud-din coming there, and pursuing them, seized them, and put them to death and hung up their heads over the <sup>6</sup>same gate. This event occurred on the <sup>7</sup>21st of the month of *Safar* 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.); and the period of his *Saltanat* was five months and three days. And God knows the truth <sup>1</sup>

#### SULTAN ABU BAKR SHAH.

After this event the foolish *Amirs* raised Abu Bakr, the son of Zafar Khan, the son of Sultān Firoz on the throne and gave him the title of Abu Bakr Shāh. The post of *vazārat* was conferred

Sālār Shāh; but he mentions Abu Bakr who he says became panic-stricken, and went to his father *درخت* نجانی; but neither the lith. edn. nor any of the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* says anything about his going to his father. They say *گرفته از میان درخت*. The word *در* may have been changed to *در*.

<sup>1</sup> He was a son of Fatch Khan.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī calls him Malik Rukmuddin Chanda, *Vazīr* and not deputy *Vazīr*.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah calls him Amir-ul-amara.

<sup>4</sup> The word both in Badāonī and in the *Tabaqāt* is *سرای* Col. Ranking has translated it as rest house.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī calls him Khān-i-Jahān the *Vazīr*.

<sup>6</sup> Badāonī says *در دروازہ شهر*.

<sup>7</sup> Badāonī does not give the date and he gives 5 months and 18 days as the period of his rule. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* mentions 6 months and 18 days but the MSS. give 5 months and 3 days and from the 18th Ramazan 790 A.H. the date of his accession to the 21st *Safar* 791 A.H. is 5 months and 3 days.

on Rukn-ud-dîn. After a time it came to the knowledge of Abu Bakr Shāh that Rukn-ud-dîn <sup>1</sup>*Jandah* combining with some of the Firoz Shāhī Amīrs wanted to remove him and become Bādshāh himself. Abu Bakr Shāh acting more quickly in conjunction with certain Amīrs put him to death and had him hanged <sup>2</sup>; and the group of men who had combined with him also became food for the sword. Abu Bakr Shāh having now taken possession of Delhi and got the elephants and treasures of the bādshāhs into his possession, acquired great power and ascendancy.

At this time news came that the amīrs of hundreds had killed <sup>3</sup>Sultān Shah Khushdil who was the governor of Sāmānah on the 24th of the month of Safar of that year on the bank of the reservoir of <sup>4</sup>Sunām, having stabbed and wounded him with their daggers and swords, and sacked his house and sent his head to Shāhzadah Muhammad Shāh at Nagarkot. Sultān Muhammad Shāh marched from Nagarkot and came to Sāmānah by way of Jalundhar; and in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal sat on the throne of empire a second time. The Amīrs of the hundreds of Sāmānah and the Zamindārs of the country at the foot of the hills paid fresh homage to him, and some of the Amīrs of Delhi also turning their faces from Abu Bakr Shah joined him; and <sup>5</sup>twenty thousand horseman and innumerable foot soldiers gathered round him. When he marched from Sāmānah towards Delhi, and by the time he reached the neighbourhood of that city the number of his followers amounted to fifty thousand horsemen. On the 25th of the month of Rabi-ul-akhir, 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.), he alighted at the palace of Jahannumā. Abu-Bakr Shāh had left his troops in Firozābad to fight with and oppose the troops of Muhammad Shāh. These troops fought with Sultān Muhammad's troops in the lanes of Firozābad on the 2nd Jamadi ul Awwal of that

<sup>1</sup> He is called Jandah here for the first time. Badāoni as we have seen has been calling him Chandah from the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> One MS. has *و او بجزای عمل خود رسید*, and he obtained the reward of his deeds.

<sup>3</sup> Badāoni says he had been sent against Sultān Muhammad Shāh in the country at the foot of the hills, *که بر سلطان محمد شاه در دامن کوه نامرد شده بود*.

<sup>4</sup> Badāoni calls it the reservoir of Sāmānah.

<sup>5</sup> Badāoni gives him fifty thousand followers without specifying horsemen<sup>24</sup> and foot soldiers.

year. The same day <sup>1</sup> Bahādur Nāhir came into the city with a great force, which strengthened Abu Bakr Shāh greatly. On the following day Abu Bakr Shāh arranged his troops and began a fight. Muhammad Shāh was routed and crossing the Jumna went into the Doāb. He sent Humāyūn Khān, his second son, to Sāmānah so that he might collect a force there; and he sent Malik Zia-ul-Mulk Abu-Raja and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn Mūin, and Rāy Khaljīn Bihti who were jagirdārs of that country, and himself took up a post at <sup>2</sup> Jalesar on the banks of the river Ganges.

Some of the Fīroz Shāhī Amīrs such as Malik Sarwar <sup>3</sup> the *Shahna* or Superintendent of the city, and, the Malik-ush-Sharq and <sup>4</sup> Nasir-ul-Mulk governor of Multan, and Khawās-ul-Mulk the governor of Behār, and Malik Hisāmuddin governor of Oudh and Saifuddin and Malik Kabir, and the sons of Hisāmuddin, and the sons of Doulat yār, and the governor of Kaṇauj, and Rāy Shīr and other Rāys, and fifty thousand cavalry, and many infantry joined Muhammad Shāh. He conferred the title of Khwājah-i-jahān on Malik Sarwar and made him his *Vazīr*, made Khawās-ul-Mulk, Khawās Khān, Saif-ud-dīn, Saif Khān, and Nāsir-ul-mulk, Khizr Khān, and Rāy Shīr, Rāy-Rāyan. In the month of Sāfār the same year he raised his standards and marched a second time towards Dēhli. A battle took place with Abu Bakr Shāh at a place called Kundli, and as the turn of sovereignty had not yet come to Sultān Muhammad, his army was defeated. Couplet:

As long as the time does not come for any deed,  
The help of no friend does thee any good.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him the *خانواده میواتی*. In his translation Col. Ranking calls him the Khānzādā of Miwāt. I suppose Khānzādā means prince.

<sup>2</sup> In Badāonī the place is named Chaptar or Chītar which may be a mistake for Jalesar. Col. Ranking says Ferishtah calls the place Jalesar, but he does not mention the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī.

<sup>3</sup> One MS. calls him the *شحنه یل شهر* the superintendent of the elephants of the city.

Badāonī says that Muhammad Shāh immediately on taking up his quarters in the palace of Jahānnumā conferred offices and pretents of nobility and among others he made Malik Sarwar-ul-mulk Khwājah-i-jahān, and Malik-ush-Sharq Nāsir-ul-mulk, the governor of Multan, Khizr Khān.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī makes the Malik-ush-Sharq Nasir-ul-Mulk the governor of Multan, one man (see the preceding note) and not two men.

Abu Bakr Shāh pursued him for three *karos* and then returned towards Dehli.

Muhammad Shāh again took up his station at Jalesar. In the month of Ramazān of that year Farmāns and orders were issued to the people of Multān and Lahore and other towns for the <sup>1</sup> massacre of the Firoz Shāhī slaves wherever they might be found in any *mahalla* (quarter of a town) or lane; and in most places where these orders were carried into execution a great slaughter and immense pillage and destruction occurred on that day, and a strange disturbance took place among the people; roads were closed, and houses were sacked and destroyed. Most of the raiyats of that country withheld the payment of rents and taxes, and did a great deal of disturbance.

In the month of Muharram 792 A.H. (1389-90 A.D.) Shāh-zāda Humāyūn Khān with other noblemen such as <sup>2</sup> Ghālīb Khān, governor of Sāmānah, and Zīā-ul-mulk, and Abu Rajā and Muḥarrak Khān, and <sup>3</sup> Mullahun and Shams Khān, governor of Hisār Firoza, collected a force, and came to Pānipat and devastated the country round Dehli. Abu Bakr Shāh sent Imād-ul-mulk with four thousand horse men, and a large number of foot-soldiers to oppose them; and a battle occurred in the vicinity of Pānipat. Shāh-zāda Humāyūn's army was defeated, and retired in the direction of Sāmānah. As Abu Bakr Shāh had the good fortune to gain repeated victories, in the month of Jamādi-ul-awwal, of that year, he with a large and powerful army started towards Jalesar with the object of destroying Muhammad Shāh. He encamped at a place 20 *karohs* from Dehli. Muhammad Shāh leaving most of his army at Jalesar and taking with him four thousand <sup>4</sup> warlike men without giving battle to the army of Abu Bakr Shāh, betook himself to Dehli, taking the <sup>5</sup> left road. The men whom Abu Bakr Shāh had left for pro

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī makes no mention of this.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not give any of the names. He only says that Humayun Khān called together many amirs from the frontiers of Sāmānah.

<sup>3</sup> This name is given variously in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as ملا جون و ملا جون .

<sup>4</sup> ناچار هزار کس . Badāonī simply says چار هزار جو انان کار آمدنی . Fariahtah says with 4000 chosen cavalry.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has راجا جب گردے or راجا جب گردے گردے, the MSS. have راجا جب گردے گردے .

testing the gates of the city fought a little. Muhammad Shāh set fire to the Badāon gate of the city, and entered it, and took up his abode in the <sup>1</sup> Humāyūn palace. The inhabitants of the city, both high and low, joined Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Abu Bakr Shāh received this information, and the same day at the time of the early meal, entered the city with a great force by the same way; and having put Malik Bahā-ud-dīn Jangī, whom Muhammad Shāh had left to defend the gates, to death went towards the Humāyūn palace. Muhammad Shāh, being helpless went out by the gate of the *hauz-i-khāṣ*, (the Sultān's reservoir) and again going back to Jalesar joined his own army. Some of the amirs who were partisans of Muhammad Shāh, such as <sup>2</sup> Khalil Khān Barhak and Malik Ādam, and Ismail, nephew of Sultān Firoz Shāh, were taken prisoners and were put to death; and some were killed in battle.

In the month of Ramazān of that year <sup>3</sup> Mir Hājib Sultān became hostile to Abu Bakr Shāh and some of the slaves of Firoz Shāh, who had become amirs, also became his enemies, and also wrote letters secretly to Muhammad Shāh. Abu Bakr Shāh became completely <sup>4</sup> powerless, and retired towards <sup>5</sup> Kotla-i-Bahādur Nāhir

Badaoni has *چپ غلط کردہ از راہ دگر*. Col. Ranking has translated this as passing unobserved round his right flank. Ferishta has *راہ چپ کردہ*.

<sup>1</sup> *قصر ہمایون*. Col. Ranking translates it as the palace of Humāyūn. I think this incorrect and misleading. *ہمایون* is not the name of any person here. It is an adjective meaning auspicious.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni does not give these names but says *و خلی از امرای نامی* and *و خدمتگاران مغرب او کشته شدند*, and a number of great noblemen and his special servants were put to death.

<sup>3</sup> There is much difficulty about this name. I have adopted the reading of MS. A which probably means the great chamberlain of the Sultān. The lith. edn. and MS. C has *مہربت سلطان*; MS. B has *فرحت سلطان*. MSS. D and E leave the name out altogether, and say *بعضی در ماہ رمضان سنہ مذکور بابونگر شاہ* and some of them having become hostile to Abu Bakr Shāh in the month of Ramazān of that year wrote letters, etc. Badāoni gives the name of *مبشر چپ* which Col. Ranking transliterates as Mubashir chap, which seems meaningless.

<sup>4</sup> The state of his great weakness is expressed both in the text and in Badāoni by the phrase *بیدست و پا شدہ* having lost hands and feet.

<sup>5</sup> Badāoni calls it Kotla-i-Miwat. Bahādur Nāhir as we have seen was

to ask for his help and left <sup>1</sup> Malik Shāhin 'Imād-ul-mulk, and Malik Bahri and Safdar Khān Sultānī, in Dehli. The period of his reign was one year and six months.

SULTÂN MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF SULTÂN FIROZ SHĀH.

On the 16th of the said month of Ramazān the petition of Mir Hājib, and of some of the slaves of Firoz Shāh reached Muhammad Shāh, informing him that Abu Bakr Shāh with some of his partisans had gone to Kotla, and that the Khān-i-Khānān had placed Sultan Muhammad Shah's youngest son on an elephant and had the royal umbrella held over his head. On the 19th of the month of Ramazān, Muhammad Shāh arrived in Dehli and ascended the throne. He gave the post of Vazīr to <sup>2</sup> Mir Hājib Sultānī and the title of Islām Khān, and the slaves of Firoz Shāh, and all the citizens of Dehli, joined him. After a few days he came into the city from Firozābād, and took up his abode in the Humāyūn palace.

He took all the elephants which were <sup>3</sup> with the Firoz-shahi slaves and <sup>4</sup> made them over to the former elephant-drivers. The former were dissatisfied on this account, and leaving the city fled in the course of a night, and with their wives and children went to Kotla-i-Nāhir and joined Abu Bakr Shāh. Muhammad Shāh gave

the chief or prince of Miwāt. Col. Ranking after giving the correct meaning of Kotla (Hindi कोटला) as a small fortress goes on to say that by Kotla (sic.) of Miwāt Hardwār or a town in its vicinity given as Coupel in Rennel's map, G.m. is meant. He gives as his authority a note in Elliot III p. 455 where because the MSS. of Zafarnamah have کوتله instead of کوتله (or كُتله as in the Malfuzāt-i-Timuri) کوتله is somewhat arbitrarily changed into Kupilā said to be an old name for Hardwār.

<sup>1</sup> Malik Shāhin and 'Imād-ul-mulk are, according to Badā'uni, two separate persons, but according to the lith. edn. and the MSS. of the Tabaqāt they are not different persons, but the name and the title of the same man.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> The word which I have translated 'with' is پیش which literally means 'before.'

<sup>4</sup> Badā'uni does not mention this reason of the quarrel specifically. He simply says و حکم بقتل بندگان فیروزی که در زمان هرج و مرج باعث فتنه انگیزی بودند بطریق عموم کرد, he gave orders for the general slaughter of the Firozi slaves, who had been in the period of disturbances the cause of tumult and rebellion.

order that whoever among the Sultân's slaves might be in the city must leave it, and they should have three days to do so. The majority of them did so, and such of them as could not leave the city within the three days were seized and put to death. It is well known that some of the Sultân's slaves were caught after three days, and <sup>1</sup> for fear of death said "we are *asils*." Muhammad Shāh ordered that whoever among you says 'Gharāghari' is *asil*. As they could not pronounce in the way that Muhammad Shāh wanted, and spoke with the tongue of the people of the east and Bengal they were killed; and many of the people of the east who were *asils* (natives) and could not <sup>2</sup> speak well were also killed. After three days the city had no more slaves and Khanahzāds (slaves who were the children of slaves or were born in the house of the master) of Firoz Shāh, who had become hostile to Muhammad Shāh.

Muhammad Shāh now occupied himself with the work of the government, and collecting troops from all sides and directions became very powerful. Humāyun Khān his son who was in Sāmānah came to Dehli with a complete army and joined him; and

<sup>1</sup> Badā'uni says about this *مردم بفرقه بداد بفریب* و خلی از احرار نیز از ولایت شرقی بداد بفریب. خامی زبان ایشان غلام دانسته زر تیغ گذرانیدند. Col. Ranking says this passage is not intelligible in itself and quotes a passage from Ferishtah Bo text, p. 287, which is identical with the passage in the text of the Tabaqāt to explain it. Col. Ranking was apparently not acquainted with the Tabaqāt-i-Akbari. The explanation is not however clear in spite of what is said in the Tabaqāt or in Ferishtah. Col. Ranking says that Muhammad Shāh said that whoever among you says Kharā instead of Khārī is not a native (*asil*) and goes on to explain that Khārī as applied to water means brackish. Natives of Eastern Bengal use the word Khārā instead of Khārī as an adjective to pā water, which is a masculine word. The objections are (1) that neither our Ferishtah nor Ferishtah says *کهارا* as they would have, if Col. Ranking's explanation was correct; (2) neither of them uses *کهارا* and *کهارا* but both have *کهارا* and *کهری*. without the <sup>1</sup>, between *کهارا* and *کهری* (3) there is no reason why the people of Eastern Bengal should be such sticklers for the correct gender of the word *کهارا* and not those of Dehli. I am diffident about suggesting an explanation, but I think *کهری* was some dialect used by the *asil* or native elephant-drivers, so that whoever could not speak or pronounce words in this dialect was adjudged to be a foreigner and not an *asil*.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. as well as all the MSS. have *زبان خوب نمی گشت* which does not make good sense. *گشت* may be a mistake for *گفت*.

Muhammad Shāh became still more powerful. He sent Humāyūn Khān with Islām Khān, and Ghālib Khān and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn and Rāy Khalīj against Abu Bakr Shāh. When the army reached Kotlah Abu Bakr Shāh and Bahādur Nābir, and the Khānīhzāds of Firoz Shāh attacked the army of Shāhzādah Humāyūn Khān, when he was totally unprepared, on a day in the month of Muharram 793 A.H., and wounded some of the men. In the meantime Islām Khān came from one side, and at the same time the Shāhzādah having arranged his troops began the battle. At the first onset Abu Bakr Shāh with his partisans was routed, and retired into the fort of Kotlah.

When this news reached Muhammad Shāh he came to Kotlah by forced marches. Abu Bakr Shāh and Bahādur Nābir begged for quarter, and came and did homage. Bahādur Nābir was presented with a robe of honour and sent back. Abu Bakr Shāh was made to accompany them to *Kandī*; and from there he was separated (from the army), and sent to the fort of Mirat, and while imprisoned there he died; and Sultān Muhammad marched back towards Delhi.

In the course of that year news came of the rebellion and tyranny of Mufarrah-i-Sultani the governor of Gujrat. Zafar Khan, son of Wajih-ul-mulk, was sent as governor of that province. In the year 794 A.H. (1391-92 A.D.) the news of the rebellion of <sup>1</sup>Narsingh Mazkūr and Sardādharan and Bir Bhān who were among the Zamindārs of the Doab came, and under the orders of the Sultān Islām Khān went to attack them. Narsingh gave battle to Islām Khān and was defeated, and a great many of the Kafirs were slain, and the Sultān's army pursued him. At last he begged for safety and came with Islām Khan to Delhi. At this time news came that Sardādharan had attacked the town of <sup>2</sup>Balarām. The Sultān then marched against him in person, and when he reached the bank of the <sup>3</sup>black river they fled into the fort of Itawah. The day the

<sup>1</sup> These names cannot be made out from the lith. edn. and the MSS. The names I have given are the results of guesses. The first name is either Nar Singh or Bar Singh. Balarām has only one name Har Singhra, which is nearly the same as Bar Singh and Nar Singh. What Mazkūr means I do not know. It may be a mistake for the name of some Rajput clan.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. has Malakaram and the MSS. Balarām and Dīlārām. Badāonī also has Balarām.

<sup>3</sup> The *āb Sīyāh* or the *Kaṭāpānī*, or *Kali Nadi* or *Kālū* is a stream lying between the Jumna and the Ganges.



Sultân reached Itāwah, the Kāfirs after making a last dying struggle left the fort at night and fled. The next day the Sultân demolished the fort, and marched towards Kanouj, and having punished the Kāfirs of Kanouj and the Rāys of Dalmau came to Jalesar, and laying the foundation of a fort here, named it Muhammadābād.

In the month of Rajab of that year, a letter of <sup>1</sup> Khwājah-i-jahān Naib, who was in the city (Dehli) arrived, to the purport that Islām Khān intended to rebel, and to go away to the Punjab to create disturbances there. The Sultân as soon as he heard this news, came to the city with the army of Jalesar, and constituted a court and summoned Islām Khān, and directed him to explain the truth of the matter. He denied it. A Hindu of the name of Gaju, and his nephew who were among his enemies, gave false testimony in the matter. The Sultân punished Islām Khān, and conferred the post of Vazīr on Khān-i-Jahān. He sent Malik Muqarrab-ul-mulk with an army to Muhammadābād.

In the year 795 A.H. (1392-93 A.D.) the news of the revolt and insurrection of <sup>2</sup> Sar dādhāran and Jit Singh Rathore and Bīrbhān the headman of Bhāsūnū reached the Sultân. He appointed Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk to suppress this rebellion. When the two sides met, Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk started negotiations for peace, and having satisfied the Rāys by engagements and promises made them submit and swear allegiance to the Sultân and brought them with him to Kanouj and there treacherously had them put to death. Rāy <sup>3</sup> Sir however escaped and reached Itāwah and Malik Muqarrab-ul-Mulk returned to Muhammadābād.

In the month of Shawwāl of the same year the Sultân proceeded in the direction of Miwāt, and pillaged and devastated (the coun-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī has a single sentence about this in the Persian text, و درین سال اسلام خانرا به تهمت اراده بغی مبادست فرمود this is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not name any of the rebels. He calls them collectively the متمردان ولایت اتاوه, which Col. Ranking translates as the mutineers in the district of Itāwah. The names I have got are the best guesses that I could make after collating the lith. edn. and the MSS. The name of the place of which Bīrbhān was the headman may be anything from Bhu or Su to Phāsūnū, thu or Bhāsūnū.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. call him Sir or Sar. I wonder whether he is the same as Sardādhāran.

try); and going from Muhammadābād to Jalesar, there fell ill. At this time news was brought that Bahādur Nāhir had attacked some places near Dehli, and had caused damage. The Sultān in spite of his weakness marched towards Miwāt. When he reached Kotlah, Bahādur Nāhir came and confronted him, but being defeated took shelter in Kotlah; but as he could not maintain himself there he fled and went to<sup>1</sup> Jar Jar. The Sultān came to Muhammadabad to superintend the erection of buildings which he had commenced, and at this time his illness increased. In the month of Rabi'-ul-awwal 796 A.H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shahzadah Humāyūn Khan to lead an army against Sheikla Khokar who had revolted and taken possession of the fort of Lahore. The Shahzadah was about to march towards Lahore, when on the 17th of the month of Rabi'-ul-awwal of that year the news of the<sup>2</sup> death of the Sultān came; and the Shahzadah waited in the city. The reign of Sultān Muhammad Shāh extended to six years and seven months.

#### SULTÂN 'ALĀ'UDDĪN SIKANDĀR SHĀH.

(He was) the second son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh who had borne the title of Humāyūn Khān. When Sultān Muhammad Shah died, he performed the rites of mourning for three days; and then on the 19th Rabi'-ul-āwwal of that year he ascended the throne by the consent of the amirs, and maliks, and Saiyads and qāzis, and the great men of the city (Dehli). He appointed Khwajah-i-Jahān to be his Vazīr; and he confirmed all the officers in their appointments. On the fifth day of the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the same year he became ill and<sup>3</sup> died. Couplet:

<sup>1</sup> The name of the place cannot be made out. The lith. edn. has جر جر and the MSS. have در جر جر در آمد, and در جر جر در آمد, and در جر جر در آمد, and در جر جر در آمد.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says در خطره بدر بکنار حوضی خاص مدفون شد, which Col. Ranking translates, 'and was buried in the Mausoleum of his father on the bank of the Hauz-i-Khān.' This latter was a reservoir constructed by Firoz Shāh. It is said in the Zafar-nāma of Yazdi to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other. It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihli obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Firoz Shāh is by its side." (Elliot III.)

<sup>3</sup> He was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz-i-Khān.

What is fortune and wealth, Sir ! if fate is not thy friend !

None can eat at this table but his allotted share !

The period of his reign was one month and sixteen days. And God alone knows all.

SULTĀN MAHMŪD SHĀH (youngest son of Muhammad Shāh).

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn passed away, most of the amirs such as Khān, Governor of Sāmānah, and Rāy Kamāl-ud-dīn Mu'in, and Mubārak Khān Halāju, and Khawās Khān, Governor of Anderi and Karnā left the city and wanted to go away to their jāgirs, without taking leave of Sultān Mahmūd. Khān-i-Jahān receiving information of this, and having given them hopes of favour brought them into the city, and on the 20th day of the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year by the help of the amirs and the maliks and the great men of the city he ascended the throne in the Humāyūn palace and received the title of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh. He confirmed Khwājah-i-Jahān in the post of Vazīr; and conferring on Muqarrab-ul-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān made him his 'heir; and bestowing the title of S'ādat Khān on 'Abdur Rashīd Sultāni made him the Bārbegī (the chamberlain); and Malik Sarang received the title of Sārang Khān, and was made the Governor of Dibālpur; and the title of Doulat Khān was conferred on Malik Daulat'yār Dabtr. and he was made the <sup>2</sup>'Ariz-i-Mumālīk which was formerly the post of 'Imad-ul-Mulk.

As the affairs of <sup>3</sup>furthest Hindustān, i.e. Jaunpūr and the country round it had passed out of control on account of the violence of the zamindars, the Sultān made over the country from <sup>4</sup>Kanouj to Behar

<sup>1</sup> Forishtah says he was made Vakīl-us-Saltanat and Amirul-Umrā

<sup>2</sup> The عارضی مالک was the pay-master of the forces. He had to bring all who sought employment or promotion before the Sultān and to explain the facts of his case. He was afterwards called the Bakhshī, see Irvine "The Army of the Indian Moghals," p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> The various readings are عابان and پابان and رابان عندوستان. The last is manifestly incorrect as the Rāys could not be Jaunpūr and that neighbourhood. The correct reading, I think, is پابان meaning the furthest part.

<sup>4</sup> This agrees generally with the Persian text of Badāoni where it is said خواجه جهان را بسلطان الشرق مغایب ساخته از قنوج تا بهار بمعدۀ اختیار و فیضه

to Khwājah Sarwar, who had been made Khwājah-i-Jahān, and whom Sultān Muhammad had nominated to be the Governor of Jaunpūr, conferring on him the title of Sultān-ush-Sharq, and in the month of Rajab 796 A.H., sent him with 20 elephants and a powerful army to that country. The Sultān-ush-Sharq acquired great power in those districts and subjugated the <sup>1</sup>zamindārs and brought them under control. He rebuilt some of the <sup>2</sup>fortresses which they had demolished. The Rāy of Jājnagar and the bādschāh of Lakhnouti sent to him the presents and the tribute which they had every year sent to Sultān Fīroz Shāh.

The same year <sup>3</sup>Sīrang Khān was despatched under the orders of the Sultān to bring Dībālpur under control, and to suppress the disturbances caused by Sheikhā Khokhar; and having reached Dībālpur in the month of Sh'abīn of that year, and having put his army in good order, he, in the month of Ziqādah of the year 796 A.H. (1393-94 A.D.) marched towards Lahore taking with him Rāi Khaljī Behtī, and Rāi Dā'ud, and Kamāl Mu'īn and the army of Multān; and when he arrived near that city, Sheikhā Khokhar met him with a complete force, fully equipped for battle, and at a <sup>4</sup>place twelve *Karohs* from Lahore the two armies met and a battle took place. A breeze of victory and triumph blew over the standard of Sarang Khan; and Sheikhā Khokhar being routed retired to the hills of Jamun. The following day Sīrang Khan took possession of the fort of Lahore and leaving Malik Kandhu, his brother, to whom he gave the title of 'Adil Khan there, came himself to Dībālpur.

فرمود اقتدار او باز گذاشته رخصت باینجانب فرمود which means that he was made governor of the whole country from Kanouj to Behar. Col. Ranking however incorrectly translates the passage and says "and transferred him from Kanouj to Behar with full powers," etc.

<sup>1</sup> Badaoni says he went as far as Jūnagar.

<sup>2</sup> Badaoni says that the fortresses which he rebuilt were in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malita, Bahraich and Tirlut. Malita may be a mistake for Dalmau. Col. Ranking says one MS. has دملوا and his Persian text has a redundant سندیله و وملوا. The و may be a mistake for د.

<sup>3</sup> According to Badaoni (both Persian text and translation) Sīrang Khān was sent by the Sultān-ush-Sharq; but the latter apparently had nothing whatever to do with his appointment.

<sup>4</sup> Badaoni calls the place سلمرله which should, I think, be transliterated as Sāmōthla. Col. Ranking makes it Samothala.

*In the month of Sha'bān of the aforesaid year, Sultān Mahmūd Shāh marched towards Gwālīār and Biānah taking S'adat Khān with him and leaving Muqarrab Khān with some elephants and some <sup>1</sup>troops of the special regiments in the city. <sup>2</sup>When the Sultān reached the neighbourhood of Gwālīār Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Dharval, and <sup>3</sup>Mubārak Khān and the son of Malik Rāju and Mallu brother of Sārang Khān, conspired against S'adat Khān. The latter receiving information of this seized Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn and Mubārak Khān and put them to death. Mallu fled and went to Muqarrab Khān in Dehli. The Sultān returned with great speed and came to <sup>4</sup>Dehli. Muqarrab Khān hastened to receive him, and as he noticed some displeasure in his mind owing to Mallu having come to him, he <sup>5</sup>got into the city by deceit and stratagem and raised the standard of hostility. The Sultān with S'adat Khān besieged the city for three months and skirmishes took place everyday. For three months <sup>6</sup>this state of things continued. During this time <sup>7</sup>some of the well-wishers of Muqarrab Khān de-*

۱. جمعی از خاعه خال .

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says that a spacious mosque مسجد جامع was built of stone by the Sultān when he was marching to Gwālīār at a place called Basāur, which was still standing in his time.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī makes Mubārak Khān the son of Malik Rāju but the lith. edn. and the MSS. all have a ر between the words مبارك خان and the words پسر ملک راجو . He also calls Mallu, Mallu Khān.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī says در سواد شهر فرود آمد , which Col. Ranking translates 'encamped at some distance from the city.'

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says حصاری شد i.e. he entrenched himself.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. says تا سه ماه انجبر صحبت گرم بود ; all the MSS. say تا سه ماه این صحبت گرم بود ; the meaning is not clear. The literal meaning is for three months this companionship remained warm. Did the author wish to be mildly humorous! I have given a somewhat free translation.

<sup>7</sup> Col. Ranking says that the account given by Badāonī is unsatisfactory and quotes from Ferishtah Bo. text, p. 270, to clear up matters. It does not appear however, that there is much difference between Badāonī and the account given in the text and that given by Ferishtah. The only differences are that Ferishtah says, (1) That Muqarrab Khān became alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Mallu Khān and fled to the city and (2) Sultān Mahmūd recognised that the fighting was all due to S'adat Khān and he joined Muqarrab Khān at the instigation of his own intimates." As regards (1) there is no reason why Muqarrab Khān should be

ceived the Sultān and brought him into the city, but the elephants and horses and other paraphernalia of the empire remained with S'ādat Khān. Muqarrab Khan feeling stronger on account of the coming of the Sultān came out of the city with the intention of giving battle, but being defeated again took shelter in the fort. When S'ādat Khan saw that the capture of the fort of Delhi was difficult, and the rains had commenced, he left the vicinity of the city and went to Firozabad, and acting in concert with his partisans, sent for Nasrat Shah, son of Fatch Khān, son of Firoz Shah who was in Miwāt and in the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of that year, placed him on the throne at Firozabad and gave him the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Nasrat Shah.

When Nasrat Khan's amirs saw that he was nothing more than a puppet, they by means of deceptions and tricks separated him from S'adat Khan, and a number of them attacked S'adat Khan, who was taken by surprise. He, being unable to withstand them, went to Delhi, and joined Muqarrab Khan, and that traitor treacherously seized him and put him to death. The Nasrat Shahi amirs such as Muhammad Muzaffar and Shahab Nahir and Fazl-ul-lah Balkhi and the Firoz Shahi slaves all renewed their allegiance to Nasrat Shah. Muhammad Muzaffar was made <sup>1</sup> Vakil-i-Mumalik and received the title of Tatar Khan. Shahab Nahir was made Shahāb Khan, and Fazl-ul-lah Balkhi, Qutlugh Khan. And between Delhi and Firozabad there were two badshahs. Muqarrab Khan left Bahadur Nāhir with a great force in the fort of old Delhi and he entrusted the outer fort to Malhi whom he gave the title of Iqbal Khan. There were skirmishes and battles everyday between Delhi and Firozabad, and the two sides were generally on a footing of equality. Some of the parganas in the Doab and Panipat and Sonpat and Ruhtak and Jhajjar upto twenty *Karohs* from Delhi remained in the

shaded at the splendour of the court. He was probably quite accustomed to it. As regards (2) both Badaoni and our author says that Mahmūd Shah was deceived by some partisans of Muqarrab Khan and there is no reason why they should be disbelieved and preference should be given to a much later historian.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has *Vakil*; the MSS. except one, which has *Vakil Vazir*, have *Vazir*.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and one MS. has *سنبیل* the other MSS. have *سنبیل*. Badaoni gives the names of all the places except Sonpat and he has *سنبیل* Sambia in addition.

possession of Nasrat Shāh, while Mahmūd Shāh had no place but the fort of Dehli, and the <sup>1</sup>treasury. Each of the amirs and maliks of these two hādshāhs, taking possession of a province aspired to independence, and became rulers and kings on their own account; and for three years the affairs of the country remained in this state. Hemistich. Distraction seizes a land that has two kings.

In the year 798 A.H. (1395 A.D.) Sārang Khān, the governor of Dibalpur and Lahore, who had in fact been appointed by Mahmūd Shāh became hostile to Khizr Khān, the governor of Multān. Some of the slaves of Malik Behti joined Sārang Khān. The latter gaining strength seized Multān. And in the month of Ramazān in the year 799 A.H. (1396 A.D.) attacked Ghālib Khān who was the governor of Sāmānah on the side of Nasrat Shāh. Ghālib Khān gave him battle, and being defeated came to Tātār Khān at Pānīpat. Nasrat Shāh hearing this <sup>2</sup>news sent ten elephants and some troops to reinforce Tātār Khān. On the 15th day of Muharram in the year 800 A.H. (1377 A.D.) a battle took place near the town of Kotlah. Sārang Khān was defeated and retired towards Multān. Malik <sup>3</sup>Almās took possession of Sāmānah and made it over to Ghālib Khān and <sup>4</sup>pursued Sārang Khān as far as Talwandī and returned.

In the month of Rabi'ul-āwwal Mirza Pir Muhammad, grandson

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has نهران, the MSS. have خزانہ. I have adopted the reading of the MSS. though خزانہ can scarcely be called a place. Badāonī says: وحصاری چند ویران کهنه چرون دہلی و سری و دربار در قبض سلطان محمود ماند. i.e. and a few forts, in ruins and old, such as Dehli and Sūr, etc., remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmūd; and he also quotes the proverb خداوند حکم خداوند i.e. the rule of the lord of the world is from Dehli to Palam.

<sup>2</sup> There are different readings این خبر را, این را, انرا.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have ملک العباس Malik Almās. The Persian text of Badāonī has الماس Almās, but Col. Ranking has Ilyas in the English translation; and in a note says "MS. (A) الیاس". Ferishtah has ملک الیاس Malik Ilyās.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and one MS. have نموده نازار خان مراجعت نمود. The other MSS. have نموده مراجعت نمود. It is not clear whether Malik Almās was in command or Tātār Khān. Badāonī says Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Talwandī and sending Kamāl-ud-din Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān returned.

of the Amir <sup>1</sup>Sāhib Qirān Taimur Gurgān crossed the river <sup>2</sup>Indus, and besieged the fort of Uchh. Malik 'Alī who was the governor of Uchh on behalf of Sārang Khān, entrenched himself and for a month did <sup>3</sup>his best to defend himself. Sārang Khān sent <sup>4</sup>Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Nāib with four thousand brave horsemen to aid and reinforce Malik 'Alī. Mirza Pīr Muhammad becoming aware of this left the fort, and advancing to meet the enemy suddenly fell upon him. Malik Tāj-ud-dīn was routed and Mirzā Pīr Muhammad following close on his heels, besieged the fort of Multān. The warfare went on for six months, and there were battles everyday. At last he begged for quarter and went and did homage to Mirzā Pīr Muhammad. The latter after the capture of Multān waited for a few days in those parts.

In the month of Shawwāl of that year <sup>5</sup>Iqbāl Khan went to Nasrat Shāh and they entered into an engagement in the tomb of Sheikh Qutb-ud-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, may God make his grave holy ! with the holy words (the qurān) between them, and he took Nasrat Shāh into the citadel of <sup>6</sup>Jahānpurāh. Mahmūd Shāh with Muqurrab Khān and Bahādur Nāhir remained entrenched in old Delhi. On the third day (after that) Iqbāl Khān, making Nasrat Shāh careless by deceit and treachery, tried to seize him. Nasrat Shāh in a helpless condition came out of the citadel and betook himself to Firozabad.

<sup>1</sup> قمران means the conjunction of two beneficent planets, Jupiter, the Lord of felicity and Venus. Taimur was called Sāhib i qirān as he was born under such a conjunction. Col. Ranking has translated it by the word great. Gurgān, according to note 1, p. 353, Vol. I, of Col. Ranking's translation of Badāonī means a son-in-law or a prince allied by marriage with some mighty monarch. The author of the Tabaqat always calls him حضرت صاحب قمرانی.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah says 'by a bridge of boats.'

<sup>3</sup> دست و پا زد beat out his hands and feet, i.e. struggled in vain.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī calls him Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Bakhtiar and says he had only 1,000 horsemen.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says معشهور ملو, i.e. better known as Mulla.

<sup>6</sup> Badāonī both Persian text and translation has Jahān-nūmā but it is said in a note that one of the MSS. has Jahān purāh but as Ferishtah has Jahān-nūmā Col. Ranking has adopted that reading. The lith. edn. and all the MSS. of the Tabaqat have Jahān-purāh. This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Delhi, connecting old Delhi with Sirī. See Elliot III, p. 448. Jahān-nūmā was a palace.



but did not stay there also and went to <sup>1</sup>Tātār Khān (his) Vazīr; and Fīrozābād came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. Muqarrab Khān then took shelter in the citadel of Jahānpur and attended to his own safety. <sup>2</sup>Iqbāl Khān collecting a force attacked the house of Muqarrab Khān by surprise, and <sup>3</sup>refusing to give him quarter put him to death. He did not however cause any injury to Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, and making him a puppet managed the affairs of the State himself.

In the month of Ziqdeh of that year he marched to Pānpāt to attack Tātār Khān. The latter leaving a force with some elephants in the fort marched towards Dehli by another route. After three days the fort of Pānpāt was captured and the elephants and equipage of Tātār Khān came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. Although he tried his best Tātār Khān was unable to capture Dehli, and on hearing of the capture of Pānpāt he <sup>4</sup>became helpless and went to his father in Gujrat. Iqbāl Khān came to Dehli and he conferred the title of 'Adil Khān on Nasr-ul Mulk who was a partisan of his own, but who was a relation of Tātār Khān, and had been the cause of his going to Pānpāt to attack the latter, and placed Simmah as far as the Doib under his charge, and he laid the foundation of his rule with solidity.

<sup>1</sup> According to Badaoni, he was at Pānpāt.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. read as above but it is clear that there is some omission here. Badaoni is clearer, he says تمام حشم و قبل صورت شاهی بدست اقبال خان مدبر افتاد. و تا مدت و عادی میان عقب خان و اقبال خان در جنگ و جدال بود. و بعضی امرا در میان در آمدن این دو سردار را تا مرد در میان دادند. و بعد از چند روزی اقبال خان بر سر عقب خان رفته جوانی او را یک ناله داد. و the whole of the army and elephants of Nasrat Shāh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl Khān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab Khān and Iqbāl Khān, until by the intervention of certain Amirs, peace was established between those two leaders, but after a few days Iqbāl Khān proceeded against Muqarrab Khān, and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him, and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. say اقبال نداده. One MS. like Badaoni says اقبال داده.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. say بی با شدة. His father was Zafar Khān. According to Badaoni he went to his father انو جمعیت انو i.e. with a great following.

In the month of Safar 801 A.H. (1378 A.D.) news came that the great Amīr Taimūr Gurgān having attacked <sup>1</sup> Talambah had arrived in Multān; and he put to death all those whom Mīrza Pīr Muhammad had taken prisoner. Iqbāl Khan became <sup>2</sup> frightened on hearing this news, and began to collect and equip his troops. Amīr Taimūr (or Hazrat Sāhib Qirān) marching from Multān, besieged the fort of <sup>3</sup> Bhatnūr, and having made Rai <sup>4</sup> Khaljī Behtī prisoner, put all the people who had taken shelter in the fort to death, and from that place he overran the districts of Samānah, and a number of men from Dībālpūr and <sup>5</sup> Ajodhan and Sarsuti fled from those places and came to Delhi, and most of the people were taken prisoner and slain. The Amīr Sāhib Qirān leaving that place and being guided by fortune and his high destiny came to the country of the Doāb; and having plundered the country and taken the <sup>6</sup> people captive, encamped in the town of <sup>7</sup> Lūnī. People say that between the river Indus and the river Ganges about fifty thousand people were taken captive and an enormous number were killed; and a number of people fled into <sup>8</sup> the hilly country.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the year 801 A.H. he crossed the Jumna and encamped at Firozābād, and on the following day he

<sup>1</sup> Situated at the junction of the Jhelum and Chenab rivers.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. except one have **وہم ناک**; the remaining MS. has **عم ناک**.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the place is given differently from **بھیر** Bhīr or Bahīra to **بھٹنور** Bhatnūr. Badāoni has Bhat but Col. Ranking says one MS. has **بھٹنور** which he says should be Bhatnūr.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and two of the MSS. have **راہی خلجی**, the others have **راہی دولجی**. Badāoni calls him **جلجی** Jaljī. The Bo. text of Ferishta calls him **راو خلجی** Rao Khaljī. The Mafuzat Taimūrī calls him **راو دولجی** Rao Dulehām. Badāoni says he was also put to death but the Tahaqut does not explicitly say so.

<sup>5</sup> Ajodhan is Pakpattan. It contains the tomb of Sheikh Farīd-ud-dīn Gang-i-Shakar, which was visited by Taimūr.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. and the MSS. all say **اکثر جنازا بازار و اسیر کردہ**. Probably the words **خلافت** have been omitted before **اسیر کردہ**.

<sup>7</sup> Lūnī was 7 miles N.N.W. of Delhi on a dōab between the Jumna and the Halīm. Taimūr arrived there on the 27th Rabi-ul-āwsal.

<sup>8</sup> Two of the MSS. say **در کوهها در اعدای مخفی شدند** coming into the hilly country concealed themselves.



some days Khizr Khān who had escaped into Miwāt asked for safe conduct and came with Bahādur Nāhir, and Mubārak Khān and Vazīr Khān and rendered homage to Taimūr. The latter ordered all of them, except Khizr Khān,<sup>1</sup> whom he knew to be a Saiyad and a pious man, to be taken prisoner; and raising his standards for the return journey started by a route along the foot-hills; and the <sup>2</sup>heights of the country at the foot of the Sivalik hills were rendered low by the trampling of the feet of the victorious army.

When he reached Lahore he by means of a stratagem seized Sheikhā Khokar (who had on account of the enmity which he bore to Sārang Khān had entered the service of Taimūr, and had become his guide and well wisher, and had by means of fraud taken possession of Lahore), with all his family and adherents, and pillaged and sacked Lahore. He made over Multān and Dibālpūr to Khizr Khān and marched away to Samarkand by way of Kabul.

For two months Dehli <sup>3</sup>was in ruins. In the month of Rajab of the aforementioned year, Nasrat Shāh, who after watching Iqbal Khān, had gone into the Doāb, went with a small force to Mirat, and Ādil Khān with his own troops and four elephants joined him, and the men who escaping from the Mughals were in the Doāb also joined him. And he came to Firozābād with two thousand horsemen; and took possession of Dehli which was still in ruins. Shahāb Khān came from Miwāt with ten elephants and a well-equipped army. Malik <sup>4</sup>Almās came from the Doāb. When the forces increased in number Nasrat Shāh sent Shahāb Khān against Iqbal Khān who was in Baran. On the way some zamīndārs at the instigation of Iqbal Khān made a surprise attack by night; and Shahāb Khān becoming a martyr, his forces were scattered, and his equipage and elephants fell into the hands of Iqbal Khān. The latter gained

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says he spared Khizr Khān because the latter تأمره سائفه خدمتی داشت *ta'amaru sānife khidmatī dāshat* which Col. Ranking translates who had apparently done some former good service.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī compares the effect of the march of the army to that of an earth quake.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says there was a famine and pestilence and the inhabitants who were left died.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the MSS. have ملك الناس Malik liyas.

strength and power day by day, turned towards Dehli and Nasrat Shāh being unable to meet him left Firozābād and retired into <sup>1</sup> Miwāt; and Dehli came into the possession of Iqbāl Khān. The people who for fear of the Mughal had left Dehli and gone to various places, came back within a short time; and Hisār Stri again became populous.

Iqbāl Khān was in possession of the country of the Doāb, and the environments of the city, and the whole country of India remained in the possession of <sup>2</sup> different nobles. Gujrāt was in the possession of Zafar Khān and his son Tātār Khān. Saiyad Khizr Khān had Multān and Dibālpūr with parts of Sind. Mahoba and Kālpi were in the hands of Mahmūd Khān son of Malikzādah Firoz. Khwājeh Jahān Sultān-ush-Sharq was in possession of Kanouj and Oudh and Dalmau, and Sandila, and Bahraich, and Behār and Jaunpūr; Dilāwar Khān had Mālwa; and Ghālib Khān had Sāmānah, and Shams Khān Auhadi had Biānah; and each one of them aspired to be independent, and none of them owned submission to any one else.

In the month of Rabi'ul-āwwal 802 A.H. (1399 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Biānah and Shams Khān came and <sup>3</sup> opposed him, but being defeated retired into the fort of Biānah and <sup>4</sup> his elephants fell into (Iqbāl Khān's) hands. He then marched towards Kaithar which is the well-known country round Badāūn, and after levying tribute from Rāy <sup>5</sup> Narsingh returned towards Dehli. The same year Khwājeh-i-Jahān <sup>6</sup> died in Jaunpūr and Malik Mubārak

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says *و در میانجا بملک بقا ستانت* and there he hastened to the permanent home, i.e. died.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Ranking says (see note 2 p. 359 of his translation of Badāonī Vol. I.) "Ferishtah tells us the names of these various independent rulers." He apparently did not know that they were also given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says the engagement between them took place *نزع و بینل* Nuh wa Patal.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. have *و قبل او بدست افتاد* One MS. has *و در قبل او بدست افتاد*.

<sup>5</sup> The name is given as Nar Singh or Bar Singh in the lith. edn. and the MSS. Badāonī calls him Harsinghrāi or Rāy Harsingh. He was the chief of Itāwah.

<sup>6</sup> Or as Badāonī in his poetical and pious language says *و بر خدمت حق بنوست*, i.e. united with the mercy of God.

<sup>1</sup> Qaranful who was his adopted son was made Sultān in his place, and received the title of Sultān Mubārak Shāh and the territories of Khwājah-i-Jahān came into his possession.

In the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal in the year 803 A.H. (1400 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched against Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; and Shams Khān governor of Bīnah, and <sup>2</sup> Mubārak Khān and Bahadur Nāhir accompanied him as his allies, and when they reached the town of <sup>3</sup> Baitālī on the bank of the Ganges, Ray Sir and all the Zamīndārs of that country came forward and after a conflict were routed and retired to Itīwah, and Iqbāl Khān went to Kanauj. Mubārak Shāh now came forward and for two months they opposed each other on the bank of the river Ganges. At last they came to terms and returned. On the way Iqbāl Khān became suspicious of Mubārak Khān, and Shams Khān Anhadi and seized them both by fraud and treachery, and put them to death. The same year Taghī Khān Turk bāchah, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān, the governor of Sāmānah with a large army attacked Khizr Khān, and on the 9th of the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year the parties met at Ajodhan which is celebrated as the Patan of Sheikh Farid, and after a conflict and battle Taghī Khān was routed and retired to the town of <sup>4</sup> Bhāudar. Ghālib Khān and other Amīrs who were with him seized Taghī Khān and put him to death. And in the year 804 A.H. (1401 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd who for fear of Taimūr, had retired to Gujrat, and after the departure of the latter had come to Dhar and stayed there, after the

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him Qaranqal. The lith. edn. and the majority of the MSS. give him the name I have adopted. Col. Ranking in a note says he was Khwājah-i-Jahān's adopted son Malik Wāsil.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī calls Mubārak Khān (who is of course to be distinguished from Mubārak Shāh Sharqī) the son of Bahadur Nāhir, مبارک خان بن بهادر, in the Persian text, but neither the lith. edn. nor any of the MSS. of the *Tabaqat* says that they were related in this way.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says that the town was on the Blackwater کنار آب سیاه کہ بکالا. Col. Ranking says in a note that the Kalāpani is the Kālīnadi or Kālīni (Hunter Imp. Gaz. VII, p. 327) lying between the Jamuna and the Ganges. Taimūr calls it the Karāsā (Blackwater) Elliot 14, p. 402. Forishtah however says کہ کنار نہر گنگ است, which Briggs translates which is on the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> The name is variously given in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as بهودر, بهودر, Badāonī Persian text has بهودر. Col. Ranking has Bhūhar.

restoration of safety came back from Dhār to Dehli. Iqbāl went forward to welcome him and placed him in the Humāyūn palace in <sup>1</sup> Jāhānpānāh. But as the reins of the sovereignty and rule were in his hands he behaved with hypocrisy towards the Sultān. The latter taking Iqbāl Khān with him started toward Kanouj; and while they were on their way, news came that Mubārak Shāh Sharqi had died and Sultān Ibrāhīm his brother had taken his place. Sultān Mahmūd having resolved to seize Jaunpūr made an attempt to do so. Sultān Ibrāhīm also with a well equipped army and elephants of the size of mountains came forward and opposed him; and for a few days brave warriors belonging to the two armies fought together. As Sultān Mahmūd had great <sup>2</sup> suspicion and fear of Iqbāl Khān, and considered Sultān Ibrāhīm to be his servant and born and bred in his family,<sup>3</sup> one night he left his own army and alone and unattended went to Sultān Ibrāhīm's army; and as the latter on account of his want of breeding and ingratitude did not perform the rites of hospitality and service, Sultān Mahmūd did not stay there also on account of the incivility he was treated with; and came to Kanouj, and having expelled <sup>4</sup> Shah Zādah Hariwi who was the governor under the Sharqia kingdom, took possession of the city. Iqbāl Khān went away towards Dehli and Sultān Ibrāhīm also returned to Jaunpūr. All the inhabitants of Kanouj, high and low, joined Sultān Mahmūd, and the slaves and all his adherents who had become scattered came from all places, and he contented himself with Kanouj.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has جهاننامی; all the MSS have جهانپناه. Badāoni has کوشک جهان نما.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni says, Sultan Mahmūd had hostility to Iqbāl Khān in his heart کینه او را در دل داشته on account of his being, in possession of the paraphernalia of sovereignty, اسباب سلطنت.

<sup>3</sup> Badāoni has a different account, he says در شروع از شروع در جنگ و جدال به بهانه شکار از لشکر اقبال خان برآمده با سلطان ابراهیم ملاقات کرد i.e. and Sultan Mahmūd before the commencement of conflict and war left the army of Iqbāl Khān on the pretext of going on a hunting excursion and went and met Sultān Ibrāhīm and the latter treated him with great discourtesy.

<sup>4</sup> The name is given in the lith. edn. and in the MSS, as سر بردی و سر بوی. Badāoni calls him سر بوی and سر بوی. Badāoni calls him سر بوی and سر بوی. Badāoni calls him سر بوی and سر بوی.

In the month of Jamādt-ul-awwal 805 A.H. (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwāliār, and <sup>1</sup> (besieged) the fort of Gwāliār which at the time of the arrival of the army of Taimūr had gone out of the possession of the Sultāns of Dehli and had come into the hands of Rāy Narsingh, and after his death into those of his son Bīram Deo, but as it was extremely strong he could not take it, so he devastated the districts round it and went back to Dehli. The next year he again marched to Gwāliār. Bīram Deo came forward to meet him, and fought a battle in front of the fort of Dholpūr but was defeated and retired into the fort. When night came he vacated the fort and went towards Gwāliār. Iqbāl Khān pursued him as far as the fort of Gwāliār, and having carried out the procedure of pillage and destruction, came back to Dehli.

In the year 806 A.H. (1403 A.D.) news came that Tātār Khān the son of Zafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt, had removed his father from Amīrship and his government, and had given himself the title of <sup>2</sup> Nāsiruddīn Muḥammad Shāh.

In the year 807 A.H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched out to subdue the Zamīndārs of the country of Itāwah, and <sup>3</sup> Rāy Sarwar and the Rāy of Gwāliār and Rāy Jālhar and other Rāys fortified themselves in Itāwah, and for four months carried on a warfare, but in the end made peace, agreeing to give every year four elephants and the amount which the Rāy of Gwāliār used to send to the ruler of Dehli. In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year, Iqbāl Khān went to Kanouj and besieged Sultān Mahmūd and although he fought many engagements, he gained nothing, and had to return without achieving his object. And in the month of Muharram

<sup>1</sup> The sentence appears to me to be incomplete in the lith. edn. and in all the MSS. I have ventured to insert the words محاصره كرد (besieged) in order to complete it. The names of Nar Singh and Bīram are Bar Singh and Nar Singh and Bīram and Param in the different MSS. The name of Nar Singh is given as Harsingh in one place and as Barsingh in the next line in the Persian text of Badāonī; who also says that Harsingh had seized the fort by treachery, بنده.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī adds that he was marching towards Dehli to seize it but his uncle Shams Khān gave him poison and then released Zafar Khān from imprisonment.

<sup>3</sup> These names are all very doubtful. The lith. edn. and the MSS. give different names more or less difficult to decipher. Badāonī does not give any names.



808 A.H. (1405 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Sāmānah. Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, who had become hostile to Sārang Khān, abandoned his place for fear of Iqbāl Khān, and retired to the hill of Badhnor. Iqbāl Khān pursued him and encamped near a valley of that hill. After a few days Sheikh<sup>1</sup> 'Ilm-ud-dīn, grand son of Sheikh Jalāl Bakhārī, intervened and made peace between them. Iqbāl Khān took Bahrām Khān with him and marched towards Multān. When he arrived at Talwandi<sup>2</sup> he seized and imprisoned Rāy Dāud and Kamāl Mūn and Rāy Bhau, son of Rāy Khaljīn Behti, and on the third day he broke the terms of peace and had Bahrām Khān flayed. When he encamped near<sup>3</sup> Ajodhan on the bank of the river<sup>4</sup> Dehenda, Khizr Khān came from Dībālpūr and opposed him with the determination of giving him battle, and on the 19th Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year a battle took place and in the first onset<sup>5</sup> Iqbāl Khān fell into the hands of Khizr Khān's soldiers and was put to death; and the reward of his base ingratitude and of his repeated breaches of faith was quickly allotted to him.

Couplet: Be not bold in breaking faith, for the revolving heavens  
Will quickly place the reward of your deeds in your lap.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says he went from Multān to Rupar (43 miles N. of Ambāla city) and there seized Bahrām Khān and flayed his head.

<sup>2</sup> There are as usual doubts about these names. Kamāl or Kamāl-ud-dīn Mūn is called Kamaluddīn Mūbīn by Badāonī, and he is the only Rāy mentioned by name by him. According to him Iqbāl Khān met the Rāys after he had flayed the head of Bahrām Khān; and he did not imprison them, but took them with him when he went to attack Khizr Khān. Rāy Khaljīn Behti is elsewhere called Rāy Dulchāin. His son's name appears بهو، هنو، and بهو in the lith. edn. and the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ajodhan is as I have already noted the modern Pākpatan or Pattan-i-Shaikh Fariduddīn Ganj-i-Shakar. Col. Ranking has a rather long note in p. 362, Vol. I of his translation of Badāonī. He has translated Pākpatan as the ferry of the pure. Pattan may however mean city as in the names of many places in S. India. (Sansk. पत्तनम्)

<sup>4</sup> Dehenda is a stream which leaves the main stream of the Satlej to the east of Ajodhan flowing S.-W., and joins it again about 35 miles lower down. See note 3 in the same page of Col. Ranking's translation of Badāonī.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says his horse was wounded and could not bear him off the field and he was pursued and his head was cut off.

When this news reached Dehli, Doulat Khān and Ikhtyār Khān and other Amīrs who were there summoned Mahmūd Shāh from Kanouj; and in the month of Jamādi-ul-akhir of the aforesaid year, Mahmūd Shāh came to Dehli and, again sat on the throne; and the family and children and relations and dependants of Iqbāl Khān were expelled from Dehli and sent to Kol. but none of them was injured in any way. The Foujdār of the Doāb was entrusted to Doulat Khān, and Firozābad was placed in charge of Ikhtyār Khān. At this time Aqlm Khān and Bahādur Nāhir each brought two elephants as tribute, and rendered homage.

Sultān Mahmūd, after achieving success and gaining his object, in the year 809 A.H. (1406 A.D.) raised his standard and marched towards Jaunpūr with the object of avenging the insult with which he had been treated; and he sent Doulat Khān with a large army against <sup>1</sup> Bīram Khān Turkbacha, who after Bahram Khān Turkbacha had been slain had taken possession of Sāmānah. When Mahmūd Shāh reached the neighbourhood of Kanouj, Sultān Ibrāhīm came to oppose him from Jaunpūr; and the two armies encamped in front of each other on the bank of the river Ganges; and for some days battle raged furiously. But in the end, by the exertions of the amīrs, peace was concluded. Each one went back to his own place.

After their return, Sultān Ibrāhīm Shāh being under the impression that most of Sultān Mahmūd's amīrs and soldiers had at this time become scattered, and knowing it to be a good opportunity, came to Kanouj. Malik Mahmūd Tarmati who was the Governor of Kanouj on behalf of Sultān Mahmūd remained in the fort and fought for four months, but when he became despondent of help and reinforcement from Sultān Mahmūd begged for safety, from Sultān Ibrāhīm and handed Kanouj over to him. Sultān Ibrāhīm placed Kanouj in charge of Ikhtyār Khān, grandson of <sup>2</sup> Malik Doulatyār Kambala; and spent the rainy season there.

And in the year 810 A.H. (1407 A.D.), <sup>3</sup> Nasrat Khān Karkandaz,

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not mention him at all, or the expedition against him.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have ملک دولت، *Malik Doulat*. Badāonī Persian text has ملک دولت ناز کنبیلہ and the English translation Malik Doulatyār of Kambala.

<sup>3</sup> In the Persian text of Badāonī he is called نصرت خان کوراند، *Nasrat Khān Karkandaz*, the wolfslayer, but in the English translation it is Karkandaz.

and Tātār Khān, son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marhabā a slave of Iqbāl Khān separated themselves from Mahmūd Shāh and went over to Sultān Ibrāhīm. The latter went from there (Kanouj) and went to <sup>1</sup> Sambal. Āsād Khān Lodi who was the agent of Sultān Mahmūd, after two days, handed over the fortress of Sambal to him without any struggle. Sultān Ibrāhīm entrusted that place to Tātār Khān; and turned towards Dehli. When he arrived on the bank of the <sup>2</sup> Jumna, and was about to cross it, news came that Zafar Khān, the ruler of Gujrāt, had conquered the country of Mālwa, and <sup>3</sup> Ālap Khān son of Dilāwar Khān, who had assumed the title of Sultān Hoshang, was a prisoner in his hand. <sup>4</sup> Immediately on (receipt of) this news, he turned back and went to Jaunpūr.

In the month of Ziqādah of the aforesaid year Sultān Mahmūd marched to the town of Baran to attack Malik Marhabā, who had been appointed to be governor of that place by Sultān Ibrāhīm. He came out of the fort to give battle; but in the first onset was defeated, and retreated into the fort. The troops of Mahmūd Shāh pursued him and entered the fort, and slew him. Mahmūd Shāh then marched to Sambal. Tātār Khān did not fight, but leaving Sambal fled to Kanouj; and <sup>5</sup> Mahmūd Shah left Āsād Khān Lodi at Sambal and went back to Dehli.

On the <sup>6</sup> 5th Rajab 809 A.H. (1406 A.D.) there was a battle

<sup>1</sup> In Rohilkhand.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī adds *دکھن کچھ در حوالی دہلی*, which Col. Ranking translates near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dehli. Fort is evidently a misprint for ford.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given variously in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. as الف, الپ, and الب. The fact of his being taken prisoner is not mentioned by Badāonī who says *غفر خان عرصہ دہار را نسخہ نمودہ قصد جونپور دارد و سلطان ابراہیم ... بکوچ منواتر خود را بجونپور رسانید*.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and all the MSS. have *نہمجرد ابن خبر* without any word like *آمدن* or *رسیدن*.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī has *سلطان محمود ..... سنبل را بی جنگ فتح نمودہ بدستور سابق* *باسد خان گذاشت*. Col. Ranking translates this, Sultān Mahmūd taking Sambhal without a fight left there Bāsād Khān after his usual custom: instead of saying left it as before in charge of Āsād Khān.

<sup>6</sup> We have already had an account of events occurring in 810 but we are now having an account of some events of the preceding year. The lith. and

between Daulat Khān and Bīram Khān Turkbacha at a distance of two *Karohs* from Sāmānah, and Bīram Khān was defeated and going to <sup>1</sup> Sirhind entrenched himself there; and at last begging for quarter saw Doulat Khān. As Bīram Khān had before this sworn allegiance to Khizr Khān, and afterwards broken faith with him, Khizr Khān collected a force and attacked Doulat Khān. The latter unable to oppose him crossed the river Jumna. All the Amirs who had joined him, now left him and came to Khizr Khān. (The latter) made over Hisār Firoza to Qawām Khān. He took Sāmānah and Sunām from Bīram Khān and made them over to Zīrak Khān and entrusted Sirhind with a few other parganas to Bīram Khān, and himself returned towards Fatehpur. At this time only the Doāb and Rohtak remained in the possession of Sultan Mahmūd.

In the year 811 A.D. (1408 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd marched against Qawām Khān and the latter took shelter in Hisār Firoza, and after some days sent his son with a large tribute to the Sultān, and made his excuses, and the Sultān returning from there went to Dehli. Khizr Khān hearing this news came to Fatehābād; and harassed the people of the place, who had joined with Mahmūd Shāh; and appointed Malik Tuhfa to overrun the Doāb, and <sup>2</sup> Dehātārat which had been in the possession of the Sultān. <sup>3</sup> Fateh Khān marching from Dehātārat went towards the Doāb; and some people who had remained in Dehātārat were taken prisoner and Khizr Khān came from Rohtak to Dehli. / Mahmūd Shāh, getting into Firozabād, gained some strength, and after besieging the citadel of Firozabād returned to Fatehpūr without achieving his object.

some of the MSS. have no date though they have the word تاريخ . Two MSS. have ينجم , 5th.

<sup>1</sup> It is called سهر هند , سر هند and شهر نر هند .

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to make out this name. The lith. edn. has دهانرب and the MSS. have دهانرت , دهانرت , دهالوت . Badaoni in his account of the events of this year, i.e. 811 A.H. says Sultān Mahmūd having taken Hisār Firoza from Qawām Khān *دعوت رنه رسده بدلى عود کرد* which Col. Ranking has translated "on arriving at the village of Rata returned to Dehli" دهانرب is therefore رنه دعوت or as one MS. of Badaoni has رنه دعوت but I cannot say where Rata or Rana was.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and the MSS. all say Fateh Khān but it does not appear who he was. The name may be a mistake for Khizr Khān

And in the year 812 A.H. (1409 A.D.) Bīram Khān, becoming hostile to Khizr Khān, went to Doulāt Khān, and sent his family and dependants to the hilly country. When Khizr Khan pursuing him arrived on the bank of the river Jumna, he became repentant and again went back with humility into the service of Khizr Khān, and the parganas which were formerly his jāgīr were confirmed to him. Khizr Khān returning from there came to Fatehpur.

In the year 813 A.H. (1410 A.D.) Khizr Khān marched to attack Malik Idris who was governor of Rohtak on the side of Mahmūd Shāh; and the latter took shelter in the fort of Rohtak, and went on fighting for a period of six months; but at last feeling his weakness sent his son as a hostage, and sending large sums as tribute did homage. Khizr Khān then went to Fatehpur by the way of Sāmānah. After the return of Khizr Khān, Mahmūd Shāh came back to Delhi, after<sup>1</sup> hunting in Kaithal, and<sup>2</sup> in these circumstances occupied himself with play and amusement.

And in the year 814 A.H. (1411 A.D.) Khizr Khan marched towards Rohtak which was among the countries in the possession of Mahmūd Shāh. Malik Idris and Mubārīz Khān his brother went forward to welcome him, and rendered homage to him at Hānsi. Khizr Khan made their hearts glad by shewing them great kindness and favour, and after that pillaged the town of Narnoul which was held by Aqlīm Khan and Bahadur Nāhur, and then went to Delhi and besieged the citadel of Siri. Mahmūd Shāh took shelter in the citadel and made dying efforts; and Ikhtiyār Khan who was his governor in Firozābād joined the service of Khizr Khān. The latter then marched from before the gate of the citadel of Siri and alighted in the palace of Firozābād, and took possession of the towns of the Doab and the environs of the capital. But on account of the dearth of grain and fodder abandoned the siege; and went by the way of Panipat in the year 815 A.H. (1412 A.D.) to Fatehpūr. And in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year, Mahmūd Shāh went towards Kaithal on a hunting excursion, and returned to Delhi, and on the way in the month of Ziqādah of the same year he fell ill, and in the course

<sup>1</sup> Badāouni mentions the expedition to Kaithar (same as Kaithal) but he does not say what the object of the expedition was.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. I suppose in spite of his enemy being at his door.

of the month died. From that date the sovereignty passed from the dynasty of Firoz Shāh. The reign of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh, son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Firoz Shāh which was nothing but a name extended to twenty years and two months.

After that, for two months, there was great disturbance in Dehli. The Amirs of Sultān Mahmūd Shah did homage to Doulat Khān. Malik Idris and Mubārīz Khān, turning from Khizr Khān joined Doulat Khān. Khizr Khān passed this year in Fatehpūr. In the month of Muharram 816 A.H. (1414 A.D.) Doulat Khān marched towards Kaithar; Ray Narsingh and other Rāys came and did him service. When he arrived in the town of Patiali <sup>1</sup> Mahabat Khān Badāoni came to his service. At this time news came that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had besieged Qādir Khān son of Mahmūd Khān, at Kālpī and Doulat Khān did not have such a force that he could match himself against <sup>2</sup> Sultān Ibrāhīm, so he turned back and came to Dehli. In the month of Ramazān of that year, Khizr Khān turned towards Dehli, and when he arrived at Hisār Firoza, the Amirs of that country came to render him service, and became his well wishers. Malik Idris remained in the fort of Rohtak. Khizr Khān did not interfere with him, and leaving that place went to Miwāt. Jalāl Khān, nephew of Bahadur Nahir there came to do him service. <sup>3</sup> From that place he went to the town of Sambal and after pillaging and devastating the place, came again to Dehli in the month of Zihj-jeh of that year, and encamped before the gate of Sīr; and Doulat Khān defended the place for four months. At last Malik <sup>4</sup> Yūnan and other supporters of Khizr Khān seized the gate of the Butkhanah by stratagem; and Doulat Khān, finding that things had passed beyond his power, had out of necessity to ask for quarter, and came and saw Khizr Khān. The latter placed him in charge of Qawām

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni calls him the Wālī of Badoun.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. have Sharq after Sultān Ibrāhīm's name.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and one MSS. has و الانجا برکشته

<sup>4</sup> This name is very variously given. The lith. edn. has نوبان and the MSS. have نوبان and نوبا and نوبا Badoun has لونا Lūna.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has دروار دولت خاںرا the gate of Doulat Khān, which is of course incorrect. The MSS. have دروارہ بتخانہ except one which has دروارہ دولت خانہ

Khān; and ordered that he should be kept under imprisonment in Hisār Firoza; and this happened in the month of Rabi-ul-āwwal<sup>1</sup> 817 A.H. (1415 A.D.)

<sup>2</sup> RĀYĀT 'ĀLI KHIZR KHĀN SON OF MALIK SULEMĀN.

It is related that Malik Marwān Doulat who was one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh had adopted Malik Sulemān the father of Khizr Khān in his childhood, and had brought him up; and it is correctly related that Amir Marwān Doulat had Amir Jalāl Bukhārī, may his tomb remain holy, as a guest, and at the time of beginning, their repast Malik Sulemān was employed by order of Malik Marwān Doulat in washing the hands of the assembled guests. Saiyad Jalāl declared that this service was not proper for the young Saiyad-zādah; and from the words of Mir Saiyad Jalāl the fact of Malik Sulemān's lineage was verified. Khizr Khān was a young man, pious, truthful, of amiable manners, and of pure morals; and the purity of his beliefs and the greatness of his position are proofs of his noble lineage.

Couplet. Although from training come actions good, but  
Praiseworthy qualities from noble lineage spring.

In short in the time of Sultan Firoz Shāh, Malik Marwan Doulat was in charge of Multān; and after his death Malik Sheikh held charge, and after a short time died. Then Sultān Firoz Shāh made Multān over to Khizr Khān, and from that time Khizr Khān became one of the great Amirs: and even before he took possession of Dehli, he had carried on great wars, and obtained great victories, as has been narrated. On the <sup>3</sup> 15th of the month of Rabi-ul-āwwal 817 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has *سنة عشر و ثمانمائة* year 810 A.H. which is certainly incorrect. All the MSS. have *سنة سبع و عشر و ثمانمائة* year 817 A.H. Badāonī has *سنة ستة و عشر ثمانمائة* year 816 A.H. He also gives the date of the month, 17th.

<sup>2</sup> That is the heading of the lith. edn. and most of the MSS. One MS. has *مسند علی خضر خان بن ملک اشرف بن ملک* Badāonī has *سلطنت خضر خان سلیمان* Although in the heading Khizr Khān is said to be the son of Malik, Ashraf, the latter is not mentioned at all later on.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says he took possession of Dehli on the 17th Rabi-ul-āwwal of 816 A. H.; but the lith. edn. and all the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* give the date and year given in the text.

(1415 A.D.) he took possession of Dehli and although he possessed the status of sovereignty and the paraphernalia of royalty he never gave himself the title of Bādshāh, but assumed the title of Rayāt-i-'ālī; and had the name of Amīr Taimūr in the coin and in the public prayer in the early part of his reign, and later that of Mirza Shāh Rukh; and in the end, the name of Khizr Khān was inserted in the coin and in the public prayer.

He conferred the title of Tāj-ul-Mulk on <sup>1</sup> Malik Tuhfa and made him the *Vazīr*; gave the province of Sahāraunpur to Saiyad Sālim; and Multān and Fatehpūr to Malik 'Abd-ur-Rahim, adopted son of Malik Sulemān, on whom he conferred the title of 'Ala-ul-Mulk. He made Malik Sarwar the *Shuhna* (Superintendent) of the city, Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khān the paymaster of the forces, Malik Kālū the superintendent of the elephants and Malik Dā'ud the secretary. He appointed Ikhtiyār Khān to the government of the Doāb, and confirming to all the Khānazādas of Sultān Mahmūd such stipends and gratuities as they had, sent them to their jāgirs.

In the same year he sent Tāj-ul-Mulk with a large army towards Bādaūn and Kaithar so that he might punish the rebels of that country and make them (peaceful) rayats. Tāj-ul-Mulk crossed the Jumna and the <sup>2</sup> Ganges, and arriving in Kaithar severely punished the Zamindārs of that country. Rāy <sup>3</sup> Narsingh fled and took shelter in the <sup>4</sup> Valley of Ānūla and when he was reduced to great straits, he humbly paid revenue and became a rayat and Mahābat Khān the governor of Bādaūn also came in and rendered service. From that place <sup>5</sup> (Tāj-ul-Mulk) marched along the bank of the Rahab, came to

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him Malik Nahr but one MS. has Tuhfa. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt* has نحر and one MSS. نحر but the other MSS. have نحر.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says he crossed the Ganges at the ford of Piraha.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī as before calls him Rai Harsingh; so does the lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt*, but two of the MSS. have Narsingh, one Barsingh and one Bir Singh.

<sup>4</sup> The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. have در دره انولا. One MS. has در دره انول. Badāonī, Persian text has در جنگل انولا بنه برد, i.e. took shelter in the jungle of Ānūla; but in the English translation it is "in the forests of that country," and in a note it is said that one MS. has در جنگل انولات. انولات seems to have been converted to انولات.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says that Tāj-ul-Mulk and Mahābat Khān marched along the



the ford of Sargadwārī, and crossing the river Ganges, punished the Kafirs of Kahwar which is now known as <sup>1</sup> Shamsābād and <sup>2</sup> Kambala marched to the town of Bīdham by way of the town of <sup>3</sup> Sakit. Hasan Khān ruler of <sup>4</sup> Rāpari and <sup>5</sup> Hamza his brother came and saw him; and Rāy <sup>6</sup> Sar also becoming humble and submissive came and did service; and the Rājās of <sup>7</sup> Gwālīār <sup>8</sup> Rabri and Chandwār also paid revenue. He took the town of Jalesar from the possession of the Rājputs of Chandwār, and made it over to the Musalmans who had formerly held it, and appointed a superintendent of it, and marching thence to the country of Gwālīār pillaged and devastated it, and took from the Rav the annual tribute which had been fixed before; and from there went to Chandwār and taking revenue from Narsingh zamindār of Kambala and Battali, crossed the river Jumna near Chandwar, and so returned to Dehli.

In the month of Jauṇḍī-ul-riwāl news came that a <sup>9</sup> horde of

Rahab. In the *Tabaqat*, neither the lith. edn. nor any of the MSS. says distinctly who did so, but of course Fay al-Mulk is understood.

<sup>1</sup> Shamsābād is a town in Farrukhābād district, N.-W.P., situated on the S. bank of the Buriganga, 18 miles N.-W. of Fatehgarh Hunter Gaz. Ind. vol. II. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni has Kambala. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqat* has كنبلا and the MSS. have كلك and كلك.

<sup>3</sup> Sakit is on the direct route between Kambala and Rāpari, 12 miles S.-E. of Etah town. See note 1, p. 377 of Col. Rankin's translation of Badāoni.

<sup>4</sup> Rāpari is a village with ruins 14 miles S.-W. of Mampurī town. See note 5, p. 377 of the Eng. trans. of Badāoni.

<sup>5</sup> He is termed into Hamza in the Eng. translation, though he is Hamza right enough in the Persian text of Badāoni.

<sup>6</sup> He is called Rāy Sar in Badāoni. The lith. edn. of the *Tabaqat* has سرور but the MSS. سر except one which has سري.

<sup>7</sup> The readings vary; the lith. edn. has راجه گواليار و سرور چندوار نير, and one MS. has راجه گواليار و سوري و ربي و چند و ر. Two راجه گوانكار سوري و راني سر حاكم چند وار باقار گواليار همه آمده چند وار.

<sup>8</sup> Rāri is written differently from Rāpari above.

<sup>9</sup> The author of the *Tabaqat* has omitted to mention that Khizr Khan took away the territory of Ferozpur and Sirhind from Buam Khan and made them over to Saiyad Khizr Khan the younger son of Malik Mubārak and the latter appointed Malik Sudhu Nahr to be his Naib. This is narrated by Badāoni, who however calls Sudhu Nahr سدھو نادر. Shāhzada Mubārak Khān of the

Turks of the tribe of Bīram Khan Turkbacha had taken possession of the fort of Sirhind, after treacherously slaying Malik Sudhu Nāhir who had been appointed Governor of that place on behalf of Shahzāda Mubārak Khān. Khizr Khān sent Zirak Khān with a large army against them. The Turks crossed the river Satlad (Sutlej) and went into the hilly country. Zirak Khān pursued them there; and for two months tried his best, but had to return without attaining his object.

And in the month of Rajab of the same year Sultan Ahmad Gujrāti besieged the fort of <sup>1</sup> Nagor. Khizr Khan started for the place by way of Tūdah in order to suppress this disturbance. Sultan Ahmad returned to his own kingdom without meeting him in battle. Khizr Khan turning back went to the city of <sup>2</sup> Nau-urus-Jahan, which was among those founded by Sultan Alauddin Khilji. Ilyas the Governor of that city came and saw him. The Sultan after punishing the disturbers of peace of that country turned towards Gwāliar. As it was difficult to capture the fort, he took the revenue which was fixed from the Rāj; and marched to Bianah; and levied tribute from Shams Khan Auhadi the governor; and then returned to Delhi.

And in the year 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.) news came of the rebellion of Tūghlan and some Turks who had killed Malik Sudhu.

Text is according to Badaoni. Sayyad Khizr Khan the younger son of Malik Mubārak.

<sup>1</sup> Nagor is in Jodhpur State, Rajputana, 48 miles N. W. of Nasirabad and 75 miles N. E. of Jodhpur city. In Briggs' translation of Ferozshah (I. 507) it is changed into Begon.

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable difficulty about this name. The lith. edn. and most of the MSS. read شهر نوروس جهان. One MS. has شهر نوروس جهان. I consider this last the correct reading, the meaning being the city (called, the new bride of the earth) of جهان is read as جهان on جهان as in different MSS. of Badaoni or as Jalwar or Javūr as in Ferozshah then the phrase شهر نوروس جهان is meaningless, whereas شهر نوروس جهان although poetic and bombastic has a very clear meaning. It is the separation of Jahan from Nau-urus and the attempt to make Jahan the name of some city which has been the cause of all the confusion. It is true that Badaoni has not got شهر نوروس جهان but Ferozshah has. See note 2 p. 379 of Ranking's trans. of Badaoni vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Badaoni does not give any of the details. He only says و ده سده عشرين (۸۲۰) توغان رئیس و جماعه او که فادان ملک دده بودند خروچ کردند و نورک خلا بار نامزد شد وان جماعه را مغرب گردانید.

Zirak Khān the Governor of Sāmānah was appointed to attack them ; when he came near <sup>1</sup> Sāmānah the rebels abandoned (the siege of) the fort of Sirhind, and returned to the hills. Malik Kamāl Budhan who had been beleaguered in the fort, having obtained his release came to do service to Zirak Khān. The latter pursuing the enemy reached the town of Pāel. Tūghān, who was the leader of the Turks, made his submission, agreed to pay tribute, and gave his son as hostage, and separated the Turks who had slain Malik Sudhu from himself. Zirak Khān returned towards Sāmānah and sent the tribute and Tūghān's son to Khizr Khān.

✓ In the year 821 A.H. (1418 A.D.) Khizr Khān sent Tāj-ul-Mulk to attack Rāy Narsingh, the Rājā of Kaithar. When the army crossed the Ganges, Narsingh vacating the country returned to the jungle of <sup>2</sup> Ānulah, and after some struggles under the shelter of the forest was routed ; his horses, and arms, and all equipage were seized, and some troops, having pursued him to the mountains of Kamāūn, acquired much booty and on the fifth day again joined the main army. After that Tāj-ul-Mulk came to the bank of the river Ganges by way of Badāūn, and having crossed the river by the ford of Bajlāneh, he dismissed Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāūn, and advanced on Itāwah. Ray <sup>3</sup> Sar took shelter in the town. Tāj-ul-Mulk plundered the country, but at last entered into an agreement, and in the month of Rabi'ul-ākhīr of the same year returned to Delhi. In the same year Khizr Khān marched out with the object of punishing the disturbers and insurgents of Kaithar. He first punished the rebels of the country of Kol, and then crossing the river Rahab devastated Sambal. He then, in the month of Zi-qādeh of the aforesaid year, moved in the direction of Badāūn, and crossed the river Ganges near Patiali. From these incidents Mahābat Khān's heart was panic-stricken. He went

<sup>1</sup> The lith. coin. and all the MSS. have Sāmanah and I have retained it in the text but I think the correct reading should be Sirhind. Zirak Khan would start from Sāmānah to go to Sirhind.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī here gives the correct name of the jungle, (and says that it has a circumference of 24 *karohs*) instead of, as in the narration of the events of a previous attack on the country, calling it the *جنگل الروابٹ*. Col. Ranking has *ānwla* as the transliteration of *انوله*.

<sup>3</sup> There is the usual variation about this name between *سر* and *سرور* and *سیر*.

to Badāun and in the month of Zi-hijjeh he shut himself up in the fort, and six months were passed in battles and warfare. About this time some nobles such as Qawām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān and all the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, who had separated from Doulat Khān and joined Khizr Khān, meditated treason against the latter. Khizr Khān became aware of this, abandoned the siege and turned towards Dehli, and in the course of the march on the bank of the Ganges on the 20th of the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the year 822 A.H. (1418 A.D.) he put Qawām Khān, and Ikhtiyār Khān and the adherents of Mahmūd Shāh, and all the traitors to death and then arrived in Dehli.

After a few days news came that a 'man had got an idea of creating a disturbance into his head, and giving himself the name of Sārang Khān was collecting men in the hills of Bajwārah. (Khizr Khān), conferred the government of Sirhind on 'Malik Sultan Shah Bahrām Lodi and appointed him to attack him. Malik Sultan Shah reached Sirhind in the month of Rajab of that year, and Sārang issuing from the hills came as far as the river Satlaj. The people of Rūpār joined him, and a battle took place in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. Sārang was defeated and went towards the town of 'Lahori, one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwajeh 'Alī Indrani, came with his forces and saw Sultān Shah; and 'Zirak Khan, governor of Sama-

<sup>1</sup> Bada'oni calls him مردی مجهولی, i.e. an obscure person, and as regards Sārang Khān he says که پیش ازین کشته شده بود who had before this been killed. As regards the place he says در حدود بجواره in the limits of Bajwarah but Ferishtah has نزدیک ماچپواره near Machwarah. Machwarah according to the 'Ain Akbari was situated on the bank of the Satlaj and in Rennel's map it is figured between Rupar and Ludhiānah, and has 23 miles S. of the last named town and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwarah is further N. near Hoshiarpur. (See note 2, p. 380, Col. Rankin's trans. of Bada'oni; vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> He is called in the Persian text of Bada'oni سلطان شد لودی, but in the Eng. trans. he is called Sultān Shah Lodi.

<sup>3</sup> That is the name in the lith. edn. and the MSS. Bada'oni says نربخته نکوستان در امد.

<sup>4</sup> Bada'oni does not mention the various leaders who with their forces were sent against the impostor Sārang. Col. Rankin makes some additions from Ferishtah who according to him says that Sultān Shah Lodi was called Islām Khān and was the Governor of Sirhind. He also adds that Islām Khān put

nah and Tūghān Turkbacha, governor of Jalandhar, also came to Sirhind to help Sultān Shah. Sārang turning back went to Rūpar, and when the armies pursued him to that place he fled into the hilly country; and the troops halted there. And in the meantime Malik Khair-ud-dīn who had also been directed to attack Sārang came with a large force; and in the month of Ramazān of the aforesaid year reached Rūpar, and for some time they all remained in the hilly country, and when Sārang's followers became dispersed he with a few men concealed himself in the hills, and the armies returned. Malik Khair-ud-dīn turned his face towards the capital and Zirak Khān went back to Sāmānah, while Sultān Shah with his troops stationed himself at Rūpar. At this time Sārang came out of the hills and in the month of Muharram 823 A.H. (1420 A.D.) joined Tūghān and the latter treacherously slew him. During this time Khizr Khān was taking some rest in the capital; and sent Tāj-ul-Mulk to subdue the Zamindārs of Itāwah and its neighbourhood; and he marched to <sup>1</sup> Kol by way of Baran and exterminated the rebels of that country and having sacked Mouza Dahli, which was a place of great strength, went to Itāwah. Rāy <sup>2</sup> Sar held out in Itāwah but in the end came to terms, and agreed to pay the revenue that had been fixed. Tāj-ul-Mulk went to Chandwār and plundered and laid it waste and then went to Kaitihar, and having taken tribute from Rāy Narsingh returned to the city. And in the month of Rajab of the aforementioned year news came that <sup>3</sup> Tūghān Turkbacha had again shown hostility, and had besieged the fort of Sirhind, and had overrun the country up to the boundary of Mansurpur and Pāel. Khizr Khān sent Khair-ud-dīn against him.

sued Sārang Khan with certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself. See notes 3 and 4, p. 380, vol. I of his translation of Bādāonī.

<sup>1</sup> Bādāonī does not mention these movements. He contents himself with saying that Tāj-ul-Mulk was sent to Itāwah.

<sup>2</sup> Written سرور in the lith. edn. and سرور in the MSS. In the Persian text of Bādāonī he is رای میر Rāy Sir, but in the Eng. trans. he is changed into Itāi Sipar.

<sup>3</sup> Bādāonī does not also give any details of Tughān's rebellions and of the steps taken against him. He only says و طوغان ریس باز در شهرند فتنه انگیزند و ملک خیر الدین برو نامزد شد و شراب بکفایت رسانیده باز گشت.

and he arriving at Sāmānah in concert with Ztrak Khān pursued him. The latter crossing the Satlad near Ludhiānah came to the territory of Jasrath Khokhar. Tughan's *Jaigir* was then conferred on Ztrak Khān; and Malik Khair-ud-din returned to Dehli.

Khizr Khān placed the foot of determination in the stirrup of bravery in the year 824 A.H. (1421 A.D.) for the subjugation of the insurgents of Miwāt. Some of them betook themselves in the fort of the Kotla of Bahādur Nahir, and some came and had interview with Khizr Khān. When the fort was beleaguered the Miwātians came and opposed him; but in the first charge they fled and the Kotlah was seized. The Miwātians retired to the hills. Khizr Khān demolished the fort, and marched towards Gwāliār. On the 8th Muharram of that year Tāj-ul-Mulk died, and Sikandar his eldest son was made Vazir and obtained the title of Malik-ush-Sharq. The Raja of Gwāliār shut himself up in the fort, his territory was pillaged and (Khizr Khān) having also levied tribute from him, marched towards Itāwah. Rāy Sar was<sup>1</sup> dead but his son did homage and agreed to pay tribute. At this time Khizr Khān became ill and returned towards Dehli, and on the 17th of Jamādī-ul-awwal 824 A.H. (1421 A.D.) he was united with the mercy of God. The period of his reign was seven years and two months and two days. <sup>2</sup> Many charities and benefactions came into existence from him and people who had during the disturbances caused by Taimūr's invasion had lost everything and been reduced to poverty during his auspicious days again became happy and prosperous.

#### SULTAN MUBARAK SHAH SON OF RĀYAT-A'LA KHIZR KHAN.

When the illness of Khizr Khān became severe, three days before his death, he made Mubārak Khān his successor; and one day after his death Mubārak Khān with the consent of the amirs sat on the throne of sovereignty and adopted the title of Mubarak Shah. He conferred on everyone of the amirs and maliks and great men and Imams who

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni instead of our author's موت کرده i.e. had died, has رفته بدورخ had gone to hell.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni does not say anything about Khizr Khān's qualities and virtues. Col. Ranking quotes from Ferishta that he was a just and wise King and his subjects loved him and mourned for him. Note 2, p. 391, vol. I.

had during the reign of Khizr Khān any stipend or gratuity from any <sup>1</sup> parganah or village the same stipends and increased them in some cases. He transferred Firozābād and Hānsi from Malik Rajab Nādirah to his own nephew Malik Badah; and in place of these gave Dibālpur to Malik Rajab.

At this time the news of the rebellion of <sup>2</sup> Sheikhā Khokhar and Tughān Rals came. The reason of Sheikhā's revolt was this, that in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal 823 A.H. (1420 A.D.) Sultān 'Alī the bādshāh of Kashmīr had come to Thatha. When he was returning from Thatha, Sheikhā met him and engaged him in battle. As the army of Sultān 'Alī was scattered about, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sheikhā. The latter's brain was deranged on account of the enormous plunder and the large quantity of riches he had got, and the thought of revolt entered his head. He formed a resolution of seizing Dehli and the empire of Hindustān. He overran the parganas in his vicinity and crossing the river Satlad, sacked the <sup>3</sup> Talwandi of Rai Kamāl Mū'n. Rāy Firoze, the Zamindār of that place fled, and retired towards the Jumna. Sheikhā coming to the town of Lūdhīāna, overran the country as far as the boundary of Rūpar; and afterwards crossing the Sutlej besieged the fort of Jālandhar. Zīrak Khān, the governor of the fort, shut himself up in it and gave battle. Sheikhā proposing terms of peace required that Zīrak Khān should vacate the fort, and make it over to Tughān who would send his son to do service to Mubārak Shāh and Sheikhā himself should also send tribute to the latter. On the 2nd of Jamādi-ul-ākhir 824 A.H. (1421 A.D.) Zīrak Khān came out of the citadel of Jālandhar, and with <sup>4</sup> a group of the

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. and some of the MSS. have از پَرَگَنه i.e. from the parganas of Oudh; two MSS. omit پَرَگَنه; but one MS. has پَرَگَنه وادی i.e. from parganah and village. This is clearly the correct reading and I have accepted it.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni says that it was Jasrat Khokar, the son of Sheikhā that raised the revolt. Ferishta also says that it was Jasrat but he says he was the brother of Sheikhā. The lith. edn. and most the MSS. of the Tabaqāt say that it was Sheikhā; but one MS. says it was Sheikhā and Jasrat.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees with Badāoni and Ferishta. Talwandi Col. Ranking thinks is identical with Tullloom or the N. bank of the Satlaj in Rennel's map 20 miles S.S.W. of Ludhiāna. Rāy Kamāl Mū'n is Rāy Kamāluddīn Mū'bīn of Badāoni.

<sup>4</sup> The Readings of this sentence are various and doubtful. What I have translated as with a group may be گروهی or به گروهی with three groups or

army of Sheikhā encamped on the bank of the river Mū'in. On the following day Sheikhā broke the agreement and attacking Zīrak Khān made him prisoner; and raised the standard of hostility anew. He crossed the Sutlej and came to Lūdhīāna, and on the 20th Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year arrived in Sirhind. Sultān Shah Lodī governor of the place shut himself up in the fort, and as the rainy season had commenced Sheikhā although he tried hard could not take it.

And in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year Sultān Mubārak Shah marched out of the capital in spite of the rain, and advanced towards Sirhind. When he arrived near Sāmānah Sheikhā went towards Lūdhīānah. Zīrak Khān joined Sultān Mubārak Shāh at Sāmānah, and the latter advanced to Lūdhīānah. Sheikhā crossing the Sutlej, encamped on the other side of the river opposite to the Sultān's army. <sup>1</sup> As the river was broad, and all the boats had fallen into Sheikhā's hands Mubarak Shāh was unable to cross it; and for forty days the two armies faced each other. When Canopus rose and the river became narrower Mubarak Shāh marched along the river towards Qabulpur and Sheikhā also marching along his bank of the river, everyday, encamped opposite the Sultān's army; till on the 11th of the month of Shawwal of the aforesaid year, the Sultān sent Malik Sikandar Tūhfah, and Zīrak Khan, and Mahmūd Hasan, and Malik Kālū and other amirs with a large army and six elephants higher up the river, so that on the following morning they might reach a ford and cross the river; and he himself made arrangements for doing so. Sheikhā not having the strength to oppose him fled

سرکوهی with a leader. The MSS. which have سرکوهی with three, have the figure ۳ above (the سه so) that there may be no doubt at all. The name of the river or stream may be anything من مین or مین Mū'in or مین Hein. Badāoni says حسرت گذار آب سرسبی فرود آمد و سخن صلح و سلام در میان شد و بعد از ترک خانرا مقید ساخت . i.e. Jasrat encamped on the bank of the Sarasvatī and there were words of peace and agreement and he treacherously made Zīrak Khān prisoner. The river according to Badāoni is Sarasvatī but the word in the lith. edn. and in the MSS. cannot be tortured into that.

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni does not give all these details. He only says بعد از ظهور مهل و بعد از طلوع مهل و سلطان از آب دریا عبور کرد و جسوت گرفتخت . i.e. and after the rising of Canopus the river became fordable and the Sultān crossed it and Jasrat fled.



towards Jālandhar and a large quantity of equipage, and wealth fell as booty into the hands of the Sultan's army; and a large number of Sheikhā's troops both cavalry and infantry were slain. The Sultān's army pursued Sheikhā as far as the river <sup>1</sup>Chināb. Sheikhā crossing the river got into the <sup>2</sup> mountains. <sup>3</sup>Rāy Bhm, Rājā of Jamūn, came to render service to the Sultān and guiding the troops took them across the Chināb to <sup>4</sup>Thikah which was the strongest of Sheikhā's strongholds, and they laid it waste; and taking Sheikhā's followers who had been scattered among the mountains, prisoner, the Sultān returned safe and loaded with much booty in the month of Muharram of 825 A.H. (1421 A.D.) to Lahore. He stayed for a month in Lahore, which had been reduced completely to ruins; and occupied himself with the rebuilding of the fort and the gates. When the fort was restored, and most of the people came back and settled in their old residences, he appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan to be the governor. and left 2000 horsemen with him, and giving him a complete equipage for holding the fort, returned to Dehli.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year <sup>5</sup>Sheikhā Khokhar in concert with the zamindārs, collected a large body of horsemen and foot soldiers, and laying the foundation of disturbance and revolt came to Lahore; and encamped near the tomb of Saiyad Hasan <sup>6</sup>Zinjāni. May God sanctify him! and on the 11th of the afore-

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls it the چھنار Chhināo, though Col. Ranking transliterates it as Chhināb.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī is more definite and says نلہر میان کوہ در آمد, which Col. Ranking translates "to Talhar in the hill tracts," and adds in a note that it is identical with Talwarah in the Kashmir hill tracts.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and some of the MSS. have رای بھلم Rāy Bhalim or رای بھلم Rāy Bhilam. Two of the MSS. read رای بھم Rāy Bhm, and so do Badāonī (though one MS. has سلم Salim,) and Ferishtah.

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to make out this name. The lith. edn. has تھنکر. Thankar, and the MSS. have تھنکھ Thatkah, بھنکر Bhatkar, بھنکر Bhatkar, ٹھنکھ Thikah. It may be the same as the نلہر of Badāonī (see note 3); Ferishtah says that Rāy Bhīm offered his services, and guided the army to Hissal the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. The language is similar to that of our author. معکم توبہ جاہلی.

<sup>5</sup> It is still Sheikhā in the lith. edn. and all the MSS. of the Tabuqāt, though in Badāonī and Ferishtah it is Jasrat.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. has رحمانی but the MSS. have the correct name.

said month and year attacked the <sup>1</sup> mud fort of Lahore, and slew many men; and again on the 21st of the same month he attacked the fort with great force: but failing to do anything, sat down a few *karohs* behind his first position; and went on fighting for a month and five days, but was unable to do anything. When Sheikhā was unable to do anything he returned towards <sup>2</sup> Kalānūr, and fought with Rāy Bhīm who had come to Kalānūr in order to render help to Malik Mahmūd Hasan. In the month of Ramazān of the aforesaid year peace was concluded, and Sheikhā went towards the river Biah. At this time Malik Sikandar Tuhfah arrived at the ford of <sup>3</sup> Pūhī with the army which had been sent by Sultan Mubārak Shah to help Malik Mahmūd Hasan. Sheikhā had no strength left to fight, so crossing the Rāvi and the Chīnāb he retired into the hills. Malik Sikandar crossed the river Biah by the ford of Pūhī, and on the 12th of the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year arrived in Lahore. Malik Mahmūd Hasan went forward to receive him and esteemed his arrival a great honour. <sup>4</sup> Malik Rajab governor of Dibalpur, and Malik Sultān Shah governor of Sirhind and Rāy Firoz Mū'in and the zamindārs had before this joined Malik Sikandar. The whole army, following the bank of the river Rāvi, marched towards Kalānūr; and when it reached the boundaries of Jamūn, Rāy Bhīm came and joined

<sup>1</sup> قلعہ خام Badaoni does not give any of the details. He says نوزل نموده تا کھام - هر روز بقصد کوفته شهر حمله میکرد و آخر الامر بمقصود نرسیده بارگشته بکلا نور رفت.

<sup>2</sup> Seventeen miles west of Gurdaspur town. Lat. 32° 1' N. Long. 75° 11' 30" East. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne. (Note 8, p. 383, vol. I of Col. Ranking's trans. of the Muntakhabat-ut-tawārikh.)

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as بوهی Būhī or بوهی Pūhī in the lith. edn. and the MSS. It appears that Malik Sikandar crossed the Biah by this ford, as noted a few lines further on. In the Persian text of Badaoni Malik Sikandar is said to have crossed the Biah by the ford of Pūhī, but the English translator makes him cross the Rāvi by this ford, and in the index of the Eng. trans. Pūhī is said to be a ford on the Rāvi. Badaoni has Pūhī. Ferishtah has بوهی. Lat. I. Col. Ranking thinks that Pūhī is identical with Pōhī. See note I, p. 384, of his trans.

<sup>4</sup> Badaoni does not mention that these officers came and joined Malik Sikandar. Ferishtah does, but he calls the governor of Sirhind Isām Khān Lodi.

them also and did service. A band of Khokhars who had become separated from Sheikhā were plundered and then the army returned towards Lahore. About this time <sup>1</sup>Malik Mahmūd Hasan in accordance with a firmān of Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to Jālandhar and after making his arrangements there went to Dehli; and Malik Sikandar came to Lahore; and at the same time the appointment of Vazīr was transferred from Malik Sikandar to Sarwar-ul-Mulk.

In the year 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.) Sultān Mubārak Shāh crossed the Ganges with the object of subduing the infidels and the insurgents of that country; and in the month of Muharram of that year he entered the province of Kaithar, and collected the revenue; and meted out their dues to some insurgents. At this place Mahābat Khān the governor of Badāūn who had been afraid of the displeasure of Khizr Khān, came and saw him. The Sultān crossed the Ganges and overran and pillaged the country of the <sup>2</sup>Rāthors, and slew a large number of people and made others prisoner. He stayed for a few days on the bank of the Ganges and left Malik Mubārīz, and Zīrak Khān, and Kamāl Khān in the fort of Kambalah with a large army for the subjugation of the Rāthors; and he sent Malik Khair-ud-dīn Khān against the son of Rāy <sup>3</sup>Sar who had fled from Khizr Khān and had kept aloof and the former overran and pillaged his country; and went to Itāwah. The Rajputs shut themselves up there and fought; but in the end made their submission and did homage with humility and meekness. The son of Rāy Sar rendered homage, and paid the revenue that was fixed for him. Sultān Mubarak Shah then returned to Dehli with victory and triumph. About this time Malik Mahmūd Hasan came with his army from Jālandhar to Dehli, and was honoured with the post of Bakhshī, which in those days was called the Arizī of the army.

<sup>1</sup> These transfers are not mentioned by Badāonī.

<sup>2</sup> A well-known tribe of Rajputs. Badāonī says that the Sultan crossed the Ganges and invaded the country of the Pauwārs in the neighbourhood of Khor, otherwise called Shamsabād and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country, but this is not mentioned by the author of the Tabaqāt. The Pauwars were another tribe of Rajputs.

<sup>3</sup> As usual the name is variously given as Sar, and Sīr and Sarwar. Badāonī is silent about the attack on the son of Ray Sar, and also about the battle of Sheikhā with Ray Bhīm, and the death of the latter, and also about the unsuccessful expedition of Malik Sikandar.

In the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year, there was a battle between Sheikhā and Rāy Bhīm, and the latter was killed; and his treasure and equipage fell into Sheikhā's hands. Sheikhā felt stronger on account of this, and overran the country of Dībālpūr and Lahore. Malik Sikandar marched out with the intention of crushing him, and crossed the Chinab, but returned without effecting anything. As this time the news of the death of Malik 'Ala-'ud-dīn, the son of 'Ala-ul-Mulk the governor of Multan came. News also came that Sheikh 'Alī the son and deputy of 'Sur Ghānamish was marching from Kabul with a great army for attacking the territory of Bhakar and Siwistan. The Sultan appointed Malik Mahmūd Hasan with a large army to suppress the disturbance created by the Mughals, and made over Multān and the territory of Sindh to him. When he arrived at Multan, he gladdened the hearts of all the people and of the Musalmāns in general living there, by favours and gifts, and began to rebuild the fort of Multan, which had become dilapidated owing to the inroads of the Mughals. At this time the Mughal army turned back.

At this time news came that Alp Khan, the governor of <sup>2</sup> Dhar who had taken the name of Sultan Hoshang was advancing to seize the fort of Gwalīar. Mubarak Shah advanced towards Gwalīar. When he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bīnah he heard that <sup>3</sup> Amir Khan son of Auhad Khan the governor of Bīnah had slain his uncle Mubarak Khan, and having laid Bīnah waste, had entrenched himself on the top of a hill. Mubarak Shah encamped near the foot of the hill, and after the interchange of messages Amir Khan agreed to pay

<sup>1</sup> This name is variously given. The lith. edn. has سوز غلامش *Sūr Ghānamish*, the MSS. have سوز غلامش *Sūr Ghānamish* Khm., سوز غلامش *Sūr 'Utumish* and سوز غلامش *Sūr Ghānamish*. Badoni does not mention the invasion.

<sup>2</sup> Dhar and Ujjain have at various times been the capital of Malwa, the Mālava Kingdom of the Hindus. Ferishtah calls Sultān Hoshang the Wali of Mālwa.

<sup>3</sup> He is so called in the lith. edn. and in all the MSS. Badoni calls him in the Persian text در اوجده خان *Dār Aūdī Khān*. In the Eng. translation he is called Shams Khān Auhadi the son of Auhad Khān Auhadi, as he is called in one MS. Ferishtah calls him Amir Khān ibn-i Dāud Khān, ibn-i Shams Khān. The name given by Ferishtah agrees with that given by our author. Ferishtah also says that he entrenched himself on the heights.

a yearly tribute and did homage. <sup>1</sup>Sultân Mubārak Shāh went from that place to Gwāliār. Alp Khān had encamped at a place which commanded a ford of the Chambal. Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and quickly crossed the river. Some amirs who were in the vanguard of the army plundered the outskirts of Alp Khān's army and brought in a large number as prisoners. As the prisoners were Musalmāns the Sultān ordered their release. The next day Alp Khān proposed terms of peace and having sent a fitting tribute returned towards Dhār, and Mubārak Shāh stayed on the bank of the Chambal; and after taking tribute according to the ancient custom from the zamindārs of that country, returned to Dehli in this month of Rajab 827 A.H. (1423 A.D.)

And in the month of Muharram<sup>2</sup> 828 A.H. (1424 A.D.) the Sultān proceeded towards Kaithar. Nar Singh the Ray of Kaithar came to the bank of the Ganges, did homage, and was imprisoned for a few days on account of the arrears for three years but was at last released on payment of the revenue. The Sultān crossed the Ganges from that place and after punishing the disturbers of the peace on that side returned. At this time the news of the insurrection and violence of the Miwātians came. The Sultān marched in that direction and plundering and destroying devastated the greater part of Miwāt. The Miwātians leaving their country unoccupied and in ruins, went to the hills of <sup>3</sup>Jhar. The Sultān returned to Dehli on account of the scarcity of grain and fodder and the strength of the country and sending the amirs to their jāgirs gave himself up to enjoyment. And in the year 829 A.H. (1425 A.D.) he again marched towards Miwāt with

<sup>1</sup> Badaoni's account of what happened at Gwalior agrees generally with that of our author, but is not nearly so picturesque and rich in details. Ferishah's account agrees with that in the Tabaqāt and is evidently based on it. The Chambal is the principal tributary of the Jumna. It rises in Malwa, is joined by the Kālī Sūd, Pārhati and Bānās and falls into the Jumna 40 miles below Itawah town. (Hunters Imp. Gaz. III. 331.) It is the Charmanvatī of the Sanskrit writers.

<sup>2</sup> Various given as Jhar, Jharah and Chharah in the MSS. and in the lith. edn.

<sup>3</sup> Badaoni says that this inroad into Kaithar took place in 827 A.H. but his account is extremely sketchy; the events of 827 (?) 829 occupy 5 lines in the Persian text and about the same in the English translation.

the object of punishing the rebels of that country. <sup>1</sup> Jallu and Qaddu and all the Miwâtians, who were joined with them left their places unoccupied and waste; and entrenched themselves in the hills of Androon; and after making dying struggles they vacated the fort and retired into the hills of Alwar. The Sultân attacked them everyday and men of both sides were slain. At last the Miwâtians became too weak and begged for quarter. Qaddu came and made his obeisance, and was imprisoned. The Sultân pillaged the country of Miwât and returned.

He again marched with his troops towards Miwat, after four months and eleven days, in the month of Muharram 830 A.H. (1426 A.D.), and after punishing the rebels of that country went to Biānah. <sup>2</sup> Muhammad Khān, son of Auhad Khan, entrenched himself on the top of the hill and fought for sixteen days. Most of his men left him, and joined Sultân Mubarak Shah; and when he had no strength left to oppose the latter, he came out of the fort with all humility and submission with a rope round his neck and did homage; and he gave as tribute the horses, and arms, and other valuable things which he had in the fort. Mubarak Shah brought out his family and adherents from the fort, and sent them to Delhi. He made over Biannah to Maqbal Khan; and Sikr, which is also known as Fatehpur to Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfah and himself marched toward Gwalior. The Rays of Gwalior and <sup>3</sup>Thakar and Chandwar made their submission and paid revenue according to previous custom; and the Sultan arrived in Delhi in the month of Jamadi-ul-awwal of the aforesaid year. He

<sup>1</sup> The two names are given as in the text in all the MSS. and the lith. edn.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. two of the MSS. have *در کوه اندرون* one MS. has *در کوه* *قلمند اندرون* while one MS. has *در کوه منحصص سد*. Badooni has *در کوه اندرون* he seized the forts of Indore and Alwar *در کوه اندرون* or *در کوه اندرون* may be *در کوه اندرون*.

<sup>3</sup> He is so called in the lith. edn. and in all the MSS. Badooni also calls him Muhammad Khan Auhad, but we have previously had Amir Khan, the son of Auhad Khān, according to the Tabaqat and Shams Khan, son of Auhad Khān, according to Badooni and Amir Khan, son of Daud Khan, according to Feroz Shah as the governor of Biannah.

<sup>4</sup> The name is doubtful. It is given as *تھکر*, Thakar, *تھنکر*, Thankar and *تھکر*, Bhakar. Badooni says generally, receiving the submission of the Rays of that district.

changed the Jāgir of Malik Mahmūd Hasan, and gave Hisar Firo to him, and Malik Rajab Nādirah got Multān.

<sup>1</sup>Muhammad Khān fled with his family and went into Miwā. Some of his adherents who had separated from him, again joined him. At this time he heard that Malik Ahmad Maqbal Khān had gone away with his army to Mahāwan, and had left Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfah in the fort, and the city of Biānah was empty (i.e. unguarded). Muhammad Khan, taking advantage of this, and putting his trust in the zamindārs of Biānah, went there with a small force. The majority of the people of the town and the territory joined him. Malik Khair-ud-din could not hold the fort. He asked for quarter, and making the fort over, came to Dehli. Mubārak Shāh made Biānah over to Malik Mubāriz and sent him against Muhammad Khān. The latter shut himself up in the fort. Malik Mubāriz took possession of the territory and brought it into control. Muhammad Khan left a band of his special adherents in the fort, went alone by forced marches to the court of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqī. Mubarak Shāh thought it expedient to send for Malik Mubāriz, and marched out in his own august person for the conquest of Biānah.

On the way a petition from Qādir Khān, governor of Kalpi reached him to the effect that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqī was advancing with a well equipped army to attack Kālpi. Sultān Mubarak Shāh kept the matter of Biānah in abeyance and advanced to meet Sultān Ibrahim. At this time the Sharqī troops had attacked <sup>2</sup>Bhugaon and had advanced towards <sup>3</sup>Badāūn. Sultan Mubarak Shāh having

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni does not give any account of these transactions. He says nothing about Muhammad Khān's return to Biānah and his subsequent appeal to Sultān Ibrahim Sharqī. He begins the narration of the events of the year 831 A.H. with the arrival of ambassadors from Qādir Khān to inform Mubarak Shāh of the advance of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqī to attack Kalpi.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. except one and the lith. edn. have got the name of this place as بهر کانو. One MSS. has بهر کالو. Badāoni has بهون کانون. Fenshtah has بهر کانو the same as the Tabaqāt. Bhongaon is in the Mainpuri district, 9½ miles east from Mainpuri town, at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk Roads. The town was founded according to tradition by Rājā Bhīm Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the Jhil or lake. Hunter, Imp. Gaz. ii. 403. (as quoted by Col. Ranking, trans. vol. I, p. 386, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Badāūn is about 50 miles north of Bhongaon. Col. Ranking, *ibid* note 4

crossed the river <sup>1</sup> Jumna, attacked Mauza' <sup>2</sup> Jartoli which was among the celebrated towns of Mawās; and from there went to <sup>3</sup> Atrauli; and he sent <sup>4</sup> Mahmūd Hasan with ten thousand horse-men to attack Mukhtas Khān, brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who had advanced against Itāwah. When Mahmud Hasan came upon the Sharqī army, the latter unable to meet him, returned and went back to its own Sultan. Mahmūd Hasan waited for a few days and joined his own (i.e. Sultān Mubarak Shāh's) army.

Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī hugging the bank of the <sup>5</sup> Āb siah, came near Burhānābād, one of the dependencies of <sup>6</sup> Mārharah. Mubarak Shāh advanced from Atrauli to the town of <sup>7</sup> Malt Kotah. The Sultān Sharqī seeing the greatness and splendour of Sultān Mubarak Shāh's army gave up the idea of carrying on the warfare and in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year marched towards the town of Rapri. From that place he crossed the Jumna and went to Biānah; and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithā. Mubarak Shāh crossed the Jumna near Chandwar and encamped at a distance of five *karohs* from (Sultān Ibrāhīm's) army. His troops attacked the outskirts of the latter army everyday and seizing horses, and cattle and men, took them to their own army. For twenty days things went on like this till on the 7th of the month of Jamādi-ul-akhir of the aforesaid year, Sultān Sharqī mounted his horse with the determination of giving battle. Sultān Mubarak Shāh sent Mahmūd Hasan and Fateh Khān son of Sultān Muzahar and Zīrak Khān, and Islam Khān and Malik Chaman the grand

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni says *نهر کدر* at the ford of Nuh Patel.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. has *مرو دوی* but all the MSS. and Badāoni, and Fenshtah has *جر تولی*. Col. Ranking says he is unable to find the place.

<sup>3</sup> Atrauli is 16 miles from Mughal town. Hunter Imp. Gaz. p. 10. Col. Ranking ibid p. 386.

<sup>4</sup> He was the *سلطان ملک الشرق* Malik ul-sharq.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has *آب سیه* but the MSS. have *آب سیه*. Badāoni has *آب سیه* i.e. the Kalni or the Karasu or the Madhuzāi Tānōm.

<sup>6</sup> The lith. edn. and one of the MSS. omit *ماری* but all the other MSS. have the name as I have given it. Badāoni has after Burhānābād *که بعلق باناوه داشت*.

<sup>7</sup> Badāoni has Kotāh but Fenshtah has Malt Kotāh.



son of Khān-i-Jahān, and Malik Kalū the superintendent of the elephants, and Malik Ahmad Maqbul Khān to oppose him; and they fought from midday till evening; when they returned and sat down facing each other. On the <sup>1</sup> following day which would be the 17th of the month of Jamādī-ul-ākhir Sultan Sharqī started, and took the way to Jannpūr; and Mubārak Shāh went to Gwālīār by way of <sup>2</sup> Hatkanat. 2279

He took tribute from the Rāy of Gwālīār in accordance with the former practice; and then returned to Biānah. Although Muhammad Khān Auhādī made frantic efforts he accomplished nothing; and as he despaired of aid from Sultān Ibrīhīm Sharqī he prayed for quarter and came and rendered service to Mubārak Shāh. The Sultān drew the pen of pardon across his offences, and gave him protection; and on the 20th of the month of Rajab came out of the fort and went away towards Miwāt. The Sultān left Mahmūd Hasan to guard the fort and administer the province; and marching back arrived at Dehli on the 11th of the month Sh'aban 831 A.H. (1427 A.D.).

In the month of Shawwāl of the aforesaid year the Sultan had Malik Qaddu Miwātī seized and put to death, and sent Malik Sarwar to govern the province of Miwāt. Most of the inhabitants laid their places waste, and retired into the hills. <sup>3</sup> Jalāl Khān brother of Qaddu, and Ahmad Khān and Malik Fakhr-ud-din and all his relations assembled in the fort of <sup>4</sup> Andarun. Malik Sarwar after collecting the revenue returned towards the city. And in the month of Zi'qadeh news came that <sup>5</sup> Jusrat, son of Sheikhā Khokhar, had besieged Kalānūr, and Malik Sikandar the governor of Lahore who had gone to attack

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. say روز دیگر که هجدهم ماه جمادی الآخر after giving the meaning of the month as the date of the battle. I cannot make this out unless روز دیگر means another day, and not the next day.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says Mubarak Shah did not pursue Sultan Ibrahim, because both sides were Musalmans; as if this fact had suddenly dawned upon him. The place is هتکانت in all the MSS. The lith. edn. has هتکانت (?) which is probably Hastkanat. Badāonī has سنگانہ Satganah, and Ferishtah Halghāt.

<sup>3</sup> He had previously been called Jalū.

<sup>4</sup> Written so in one MS. and in the lith. edn. The other MSS. have ایندور and اندور. Badāonī does not mention these events at all, but on a previous occasion he had mentioned Indor and Alwar as two forts in Miwāt.

<sup>5</sup> The name is spelt جسرت in the lith. edn. and in Badāonī, but the MSS. have جسرتیہ.

him, had been defeated; and had returned to Lahore. Jasrat crossed the river Beās, and attempted to seize the fort of Jālandhar, but as he was unable to do this, he overran the neighbouring country and taking many prisoners again turned to Kalānūr. Mubārak Shāh sent orders to Zīrak Khān, governor of Sāmānah and Islām Khān, the amīr of Sirhind that they should help Malik Sikandar. But before they could arrive, Malik Sikandar taking Rāy Ghālib Kalānūri and his forces with him, advanced to the river Beās. Jasrat came and confronted him, and being defeated went towards <sup>1</sup>Thtkah, and of the various kinds of plunder, all that he had taken in the districts round Jālandhar fell into the hands of Malik Sikandar's troops.

In the month of Muharram 832 A.H. (1428 A.D.) Malik Mahmūd Hasan came to Dehli, after putting down the disturbances which Muḥammad Khān Anḥadī had caused in Bīānah. After that Sultan Mubārak Shāh advanced to the foot hills of Miwāt, and came to Mahdoraī and stayed there for a few days. Jalāl Khan Miwāti and all the Miwātians, who were weak accepted the revenue demanded of them, and some of them came and rendered homage to the Sultān, and the Sultān returned to Dehli in the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year. About this time the news of the death of Malik Rajab Nādirah, the governor of Multān, came. The Sultan sent Malik Mahmūd Hasan to Multān, after conferring on him the title of 'Imād ul-Mulk.

In the year 833 A.H. (1429 A.D.) the Sultan went with his army towards Gwaliār, and arrived there by way of Banah; and having put down the disturbances in that country he went towards Hatkīnat. The Ray being routed retired among the <sup>2</sup>foot hills. The Sultan plundered his country and taking a large number of the inhabitants prisoners came to <sup>3</sup>Rapri and transferring that

جسر نه . Badaoni makes no mention of these events, he only mentions Jasrat's attack on Malik Sikandar in 835 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> This name is variously given in the MSS, and in the lith. edn. as, بهکر and نک, نهکه, نهکه, تهکه, تهکه. See note 1, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> The lith. edn. and two of the MSS have کوه بانہ but one MS. has بانہ and another کوه بانہ.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. and several MSS, have

province from the son of <sup>1</sup>Hasan Khān made it over to Malik Hamzah; and in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year returned (to Dehli). On the way Saiyad Sālim died, and the Sultān conferred the title of Sālim Khān on his elder and Shujā'-ul-Mulk on his other son. The aforesaid Saiyad had for a period of thirty years been in the service of Khizr Khān, the pardoned; and was one of the great amīrs, and for many years he had collected much treasure as the keeper of the fort of Tabarhindah. <sup>2</sup>In the month of Shawwāl of that year Faulād Turkbacha came into the fort of Tabarhindah and raised the standard of hostility. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyad Sālim and sent <sup>3</sup>Rāy Hanu Behti to Tabarhindah in order to put down Faulād, and to recover the property of Saiyad Sālim. When they arrived in the vicinity of Tabarhindah Faulād proposed terms of peace, and made them careless, and on the next day sallying out suddenly from the fort, made a night attack on the troops. Malik Yusuf and Rāy Hanu who knew nothing of the intended treachery, gave battle, but were defeated, and returned towards Sarsuti, and their equipage and goods fell into Faulād's hands; and became the cause of an increase of his strength and power. The Sultān hearing this news started towards Tabarhindah and amīrs, and troops from all directions came and joined the Sultān's army, and the zamindārs also came to render service. As Faulād had great strength, he shut himself up in the fort of Tabarhindah. Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Zirak Khān, and Malik Kālū and Islām Khān and Kamāl Khān from the way to besiege Tabarhindah.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. as well as the lith. edn. have حسین خان but Badāonī has حسن خان.

<sup>2</sup> The facts are not clear. Badāonī says that Faulād who was a غلام ترکچہ one of the slaves of Saiyad Sālim revolted and took possession of Saiyad Sālim's immense hordes of treasure, but neither he nor the author of the *Tabaqāt* says that Saiyad Sālim's sons had anything to do with the revolt, but the fact that Mubārak Shāh imprisoned them points in that direction. Ferishta says that the favours conferred on them were not sufficient to secure their fidelity and they incited Faulād Turkbachah.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says that Malik Yusuf Sarwar and Rāy Hansu Behti were sent to Tabarhindah. In the *Tabaqāt* Malik Yusuf Sarwar is not mentioned in the first instance though Malik Yusuf is mentioned later on. The other name is given as زای هیو, Rāy Hanu, رای بهو, Rāy Bhū, رای هپو, Rāy Hapu and زای هیو. Rāy Hīpu.

'Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Multān, was also summoned to put down Faulād's rebellion. In the month of Zi-hijjeh of the aforesaid year 'Imād-ul-Mulk arrived at Sarsuti, and attended on the Sultān. As Faulād had faith on 'Imād-ul-Mulk's words he was sent to Tabarhindah to give assurances to Faulād. The latter talked a great deal but persisted in the revolt; and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came back to Mubārak Shāh without achieving his object.

The Sultān gave permission to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, in the month of Safar 834 A.H. (1430 A.D.) to return to Multān, and himself went back to Dehli, leaving Islām Khān, and Kamāl Khān and Rāy Firoz Mū'm, to carry on the siege of Tabarhindah. 'Imād-ul-Mulk went there and having directed the amirs about the siege went to Multān. Faulād carried on the war for six months, and sent a large sum to Sheikh 'Ali Beg in Kābul, by trustworthy agents, and requested his help. Sheikh 'Ali started in the direction of Tabarhindah in the month of Jamādī-ul-āwwal of that year. When he arrived within ten *karohs* from Tabarhindah, Islām Khān and Kamāl Khan, and all the amirs raised the siege, and went to their own governments. Faulād came out of the fort saw Sheikh 'Ali, and paid to him the sum of two lakhs Tankās promised by him. Sheikh 'Ali took the family and children of Faulād with him, and returned, and having made the raiyats of the province of Jālandhar prisoners proceeded in the month of Rajab of the aforesaid year towards Lahore. Malik Sikandar paid to him the sum which he used to pay to him every year, and made him turn back. From there Sheikh 'Ali went to <sup>2</sup>Talwārāh and tried to lay it waste. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came to the town of <sup>3</sup>Tulumba to oppose him. Sheikh 'Ali not having the strength to meet him went towards <sup>4</sup>Khatībpur. At this

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says Sheikh 'Ali took Faulād as well as his family and children with him.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī does not mention Talwārāh here. He says Sheikh 'Ali made towards Dibālpūr and 'Imād-ul-Mulk came out from Multān to meet him. (See vol. I, p. 389, of the translation.) As regards Talwārāh see note 2 p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> On the left bank of the Ravi, 52 miles N.-E. of Multān. It has been identified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during his campaign in the Punjab, and also as the place where he crossed the Ravi. Hunter, Imp. Gaz. XIII, p. 63 and also Cunningham, Anc. Geo. of India, p. 224, as given in note 2, p. 389 vol. I of the trans. of the Munt.-ut-Tawārikh.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī has خوطپر, Khūtpūr. Ferishta has خطیب پور, Khatībpur.

time the order of the Sultān came that <sup>1</sup> 'Imād-ul-Mulk should leave Tulumba and go to Multān, and on the 24th of the month of Sha'bān of the aforementioned year, he commenced his march towards Multān. Sheikh 'Ali who had become proud, crossed the river Rāvi near Khatbpūr and began to pillage and lay waste the parganas on the bank of the Jhīlam which are known as the Punjāb, and then turned towards Multān. When he arrived within ten *karohs* of Multān 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent Sultān Shah Lodi who was the uncle of Malik Bahlol Lodi to oppose him. He met Sheikh 'Ali on the way, and fighting with him attained to martyrdom, and a part of his army were slain, and the rest fled and returned to Multān. On the third day of the month of Ramazān of the aforementioned year Sheikh 'Ali encamped at <sup>2</sup> Khairābād, which is close to Multān; and <sup>3</sup> on the 4th Ramazān began a battle at the gate of the fort. 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent out the infantry so that they might keep Sheikh 'Ali's troops in the gardens, and the latter did nothing that day and went back to his encampment. He again began a battle on Friday the 27th Ramazān, and advanced on the fort, and many men were slain and Sheikh 'Ali turning back, took up his position in his own camp. In this way for some time the warfare went on.

Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent Fateh Khān son of Zafar Khān Gujratī with celebrated amīrs such as <sup>4</sup> Zīrak Khān and Malik Kālū, superintendent of elephants, and Islām Khān, and Malik Yusuf, and Kamāl Khan and Ray Hanu Behti to help 'Imād-ul-Mulk. They arrived in the neighbourhood of Multān on the 26th of the month of

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says 'Imād-ul-Mulk himself was defeated, and Malik Suleimān Shah Lodi, who was in the advance guard of the army, was slain. He is however called Sultān Shah Lodi in all the MSS. and the lith. edn. of the *Tabaqāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Badāonī says that after the battle in which 'Imād-ul-Mulk was defeated and Malik Suleimān Shah Lodi was slain, Sheikh 'Ali came to Khusrābād. Ferishtah says that the battle took place at Khairābād 3 stages from Multān.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī does not give any of the details. He only says *و مدتی مدید میان او (شیخ علی) و عماد الملک هر روز جنگ بود* i.e. for a long time between him (i.e. Sheikh 'Ali) and 'Imād-ul-Mulk there were battles everyday.

<sup>4</sup> These names are not given by Badāonī, who says that Sultān Mubārak Shāh sent a very large force and made Fateh Khān, the son of Sultān Muzaffar Khān Gujratī its commander. All the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* and the lith. edn. agree in calling Fateh Khān's father Zafar Khan. There is much diversity about the name of Ray Hanu Behti in the MSS.

Shawwāl; and on the following day engaged Sheikh 'Ali and defeated him. The latter being no longer able to oppose them went into the entrenchment which he had erected round his army. He did not even stay there; crossed the river Jhilam and decided on flight. The majority of his troops were drowned, and a part were slain, and a part taken prisoners. He himself with a few followers went to the town of <sup>1</sup>Shūr; and his horses, and camels, and weapons, and all the equipage of his army were taken. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and all the amīrs pursued him as far as Shūr; Mir Muzaffar, Sheikh 'Ali's nephew entrenched himself there; and Sheikh 'Ali himself with a small band turned towards Kābul. The amīrs who had come to reinforce 'Imād-ul-Mulk started towards Dehli in accordance to orders. Mubārak Shāh transferred Multān from 'Imād-ul-Mulk and placed it in charge of Khairuddin Khān.

At this time <sup>2</sup>Sheikhā Khokhar taking advantage of his opportunity, and gaining strength and power, commenced disturbance and rebellion. <sup>3</sup>Malik Sikandar Tuhfah advanced towards Jālandhar to put down the disturbance. Sheikhā collected a large force and coming out of the hills of <sup>4</sup>Sakar, and crossing the rivers Jhilam, and Rāvi and Bīāh encamped on the bank of the river <sup>5</sup>Mān near Jālandhar and making Malik Sikandar careless, suddenly attacked him. The latter was defeated and taken prisoner. Sheikhā in great force went to Lahore and besieged it. Saiyad Najm-ud-dīn, Malik Sikandar's deputy, and Malik Khushkhabar, his slave, shut themselves up, and everyday engagements took place. At this time <sup>6</sup>Sheikh 'Ali again came from Kābul, and overran the country round Multān, and took the men of <sup>7</sup>Khatpūr and most of the villages on the bank of the

<sup>1</sup> The name is شور Shūr in the lith. edn. and in one MSS. and سنور Sanūr, in the others. Badāonī has سنپور Sanpur and سنور Sīnūr. Ferishtah has شیور Shīwar which Col. Ranking has adopted.

<sup>2</sup> It is Sheikhā in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Badāonī has Jasrath.

<sup>3</sup> He was the governor of Lahore

<sup>4</sup> Two of the MSS. have سکر, Sakar, others have بتک Batkah, and بتکر Batkar. The lith. edn. has تہکر Thakar. Badāonī has no name.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. have مین Mīn, and مین Mīn. The lith. edn. has ملین Mlīn.

<sup>6</sup> According to Ferishtah, at the instigation of Jasrat.

<sup>7</sup> It is خطب پور in the lith. edn. The MSS. have خطپور Khatpūr.

Jhllam prisoner. And on the 17th of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of the aforesaid year he arrived in the town of <sup>1</sup>Talambah, and having got the residents of the place by promises and terms of agreement into his power, made the well-known men among them prisoners, and took possession of the fort. He slew some of the Musalmāns, and, <sup>2</sup>released some, and various calamities happened to them. And at this time Faulād Turkbachah leaving Tabarhindah with a force overran the country of Rāy Firoz, and the latter was killed in battle. Sultān Mubārak heard of these events, marched towards Lahore and Multān in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year, and made Malik Sarwar the commander of the advance guard. When the latter reached Sāmānah, Sheikhā Khokhar abandoned the siege, and going towards the foot hills of <sup>3</sup>Sakar took Malik Sikandar with him. Sheikh 'Ali being afraid of the army of Sultān Mubārak Shāh, turned back and went to 'Balūt. Sultān Mubārak Shāh transferred Lahore from <sup>4</sup>Malik-ush-Sharq 'Imād-ul-Mulk and made it over to Nasrat Khān Gurg-āndāz. Malik Sarwar brought the family and dependants of Malik-ush-Sharq from the fort of Lahore and sent them to Dehli.

And in the month of Zihijjeh of the aforesaid year Sheikhā again came out of the hills with a large force; and having harassed some partisans went back to the hills. At this time Sultān Mubārak Shāh had his camp in the town of Pāntpat on the bank of the Jumna; and having stayed there for some time, and sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk with a well equipped army, in the month of Ramazān of that year, for the subjugation of the Zamīndārs of Biānah and Gwālīār, returned to Dehli.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have تلنبه . The lith. edn. and Badāonī have غلبنه .

<sup>2</sup> According to Badāonī he was not so merciful. He says مردم انرا بنعام و دستگیر و نهب و تاراج ساخت و اکثری را بکشت و بقیه را از صغار و کبار بولایت خود برد i.e. he took all the men of the place prisoners and pillaged and destroyed them, he slew most of them and took the remainder both great and small into his own country.

<sup>3</sup> See note 4, page 315.

<sup>4</sup> Three MSS. have بلوت , Balūt, one has بارتوت Bārtūt, and one مالوت Mālūt, and the lith. edn. has مار توت Mārtut. Badāonī says Sheikh 'Ali retired to his own country.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī says it was Shams-ul-Mulk from whom the Government of Lahore and Jalandhar was taken to be made over to Nasrat Khān Gurg-āndāz. As a matter of fact Malik Sikandar appears to have been the governor of Lahore and neither 'Imād-ul-Mulk nor Shams-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk had been governor of Multān till it was taken from him, and made over to Khair-ud-dīn Khān.

And in the month of Muharram <sup>1</sup>836 A.H. (1433 A.D.) (the Sultān) marched out to put down the disturbances in the country of Sāmānah and sent Malik Sarwar to attack Faulād Turkbacha. The latter entrenched himself and went on fighting. <sup>2</sup>Malik Sarwar left Zīrak Khān, and Islām Khān with a large army round the fort of Tabarhindah and himself went to attend on the Sultān. The latter disallowed his return; and took away Lahore and Jālandhar from Nasrat Khān, and made them over to Malik <sup>3</sup>Ilhādād Lodi. When the latter reached the country of Jālandhar Sheikhā crossed the river Biāh and gave him battle. Malik Ilhādād was defeated and retired towards the foot hills of <sup>4</sup>Kothi Bajwāra, and the insurrection of Sheikhā became stronger.

The Sultān marched towards Miwāt in the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of the afore-mentioned year; and when he arrived at the town of <sup>5</sup>Nāwar, <sup>6</sup>Jalāl Khān Miwātī shut himself up with a large

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni says that in 836 A.H. the Sultān went to Sāmānah to put down the rebellion of Jasrat, but this is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt* except that in two MSS. the name of Jasrat occurs, but the sentence is apparently incorrect and meaningless. It is this *عماد الملك را بالشكر ارسته در ماه رمضان سنه مذکور*. Badāoni also says, *بار جسرت کهوکر جهت تسخیر زمینداران بمیانہ و گوالیار فرستاد*. Badāoni also says, that at this time Mubārak Shah's mother, who was known as *Makhdūm-i-Jahān* died at Dehli; and he went to Dehli from the camp with a small retinue, and after performing the rites of mourning went back to the camp; but there is no mention of this in the *Tabaqāt*.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have *سلطان و وزیر خان و اسلام* &c. but this does not make sense; so I have omitted the conjunction, and between Malik Sarwar and Zīrak Khān.

<sup>3</sup> Badāoni calls him *الهداد کالو لودی*. In two of the MSS. of the *Tabaqāt* he is called *الهداد و کنگالودی*, in one *الهداد کنگالودی*, while the others and the lith. edn. call him *الهداد لودی*.

<sup>4</sup> Badāoni says that Malik Ilhādād was defeated at Bajwārah which Col. Ranking in a note says is a village 1½ miles E. of Hoshiarpur and about 25 miles N.E. of Jalandhar. Badāoni does not name the foot hills to which he retired; but only says he retired to the *کوة دیبه*.

<sup>5</sup> The lith. edn. has *پاورڈ بقصد* which is manifestly incorrect. The MSS. all have *بقصد* to the town of, correctly; but the name of the town is given variously as *ناور*, *ناورد*, *ناورد*. Badāoni does not give any name.

<sup>6</sup> Badāoni does not give these details, and he simply says *سلطان درین سال* و سر جلال خان در مدوات لشکر کشید.



force in the fort of Andarūn. The next day Jalāl Khān fled out of the fort; and the grain and things stored in it fell into the Sultān's hands. The latter marched from there and going to Tajārah laid waste the greater part of the country. Jalāl Khān then came with humility and made his submission, and paid the revenue according to previous custom. 'Imād-ul-Mulk came with a large force from the country of Biānah and paid his respects. The Sultān sent Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn with a few other noblemen for the purpose of putting into order the country of Gwālīār and Itāwah; and in the month of Jamādi-ul-āwwal of that year went to Dehli.

About this time news came that Sheikh 'Ali was marching against the Amīrs who were besieging Tabarhindah. The Sultān sent an army to reinforce the Amīrs. At this time Sheikh 'Ali came by forced marches from <sup>1</sup>Shur and overran the country on the banks of the river Biāh, and taking a great number of people as prisoners went towards Lahore, and <sup>2</sup>Malik Yusuf and Malik Ismael who were the governors of the city, shut themselves up and placed the shield of prohibition in front of them, and made very great efforts in the defence of the fort and the city. But when they became aware of the hostility of the residents of the city, they decided upon flight and left the fort. Sheikh 'Ali sent troops to pursue them; and they

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni gives a different account. He says وزیرک خان و دیگر امرا کہ در لاہور بودند معاصر شدند و باو جنگ می کردند تا شبی ساکنان در باستانی و بزرگی تسامع و زبردند و ملک یوسف سرور الملک و ملک اسمعیل شبی اتفاق بازیرک خان نموده بیرون آمدند و جنگ کرده منہزم شدند \*

Col. Ranking translates this thus "Zirak Khān and the other amīrs who were in Lahore fortified themselves thoro, and fought repeated engagements with him, till one night the inhabitants of Lahore were, careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yusuf Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Ismail under cover of night succeeded in joining Zirak Khān, then sallying from the fort, gave battle and were defeated." This does not appear to me to be accurate. Col. Ranking's translation implies that Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Malik Ismail got into the fort owing to the carelessness of the guards and joined Zirak Khān and sallied out; whereas it appears to me that they were in the city from the beginning and they left it on account of their suspicion about the loyalty of the citizens. This is clearly the meaning of the version of the Tabaqāt, and I think it is also the meaning of Badāoni's version.

slew a great host, and took some prisoners; Malik Rājā who was one of the chief men was among the prisoners. Sheikh 'Ali having taken possession of Lahore completely plundered and destroyed it; and commenced the reconstruction of the fort, and leaving two thousand selected horsemen to defend the city <sup>1</sup> turned towards Dībālpūr. Malik Yusuf who after leaving the fort of Lahore had taken shelter in the fort of Dībālpūr remained shut up in it. When news of these events reached 'Imād-ul-Mulk at Tabarhindah, he sent his brother Malik Ahmad with a large force to help Malik Yusuf. Sheikh 'Ali left Dībālpūr, on the arrival of the reinforcements; and took possession of the towns between Lahore and Dībālpūr.

In the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforesaid year, when the news of the trouble and disturbance caused by Sheikh 'Ali reached Mubarak Shāh, he marched to Sāmānah, and waited for a few days for the assembling of the troops. When Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, and some other Amīrs arrived, he marched to Talwandī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk and Islām Khān, who were nominated for Tabarhindah came and offered homage. A firmān was sent to other Amīrs to leave the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah. He himself went with great rapidity to the ford of <sup>2</sup> Pūhi. Sheikh 'Ali turned and fled. Sultān Mubarak Shāh arrived at the neighbourhood of Dībālpūr, Sheikh 'Ali had then crossed the river Chināb. The Sultān conferred the title of Shams-ul-Mulk on Malik Sikandar Tuhfah, who had been released from the imprisonment into which Sheikh Khokhar had thrown him, and made him governor of Dībālpūr and Jālandhar, and sent him in pursuit of Sheikh 'Ali. The latter had however <sup>3</sup> escaped, leaving <sup>4</sup> Muzaḥfar his nephew in the fort of <sup>5</sup> Shur, and portions of his equipage and arms had fallen into the hands of the troops of Shams-ul-Mulk. The Sultān crossed the river Rāvi opposite to Tālabah, and besieged the fort of Shur. Muzaḥfar struggled for a month, and at last with great humility knocked on the door of peace, and gave

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. differ considerably I have taken the reading which appears to me to be correct; and agrees generally with the account given by Badā'uni.

<sup>2</sup> See note 3, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> بدر رفته lit. gone out.

<sup>4</sup> Badā'uni calls him امیر مظفر Amīr Muzaḥfar and in the English translation he is described Amīr Muzaḥfar Khān.

<sup>5</sup> See note 1, p. 315.

his own daughter, with much tribute, to the son of Sultân Mubārak Shsh. The Sultân turning back, sent Shams-ul-Mulk to Lahore and the troops of Sheikh 'Ali who were in Lahore sued for quarter in the month of Shawwāl of the aforementioned year, and evacuated the fort. Shams-ul-Mulk took possession of it. When Mubārak Shsh had completed his work in connection with Shūr and Lahore, he went with <sup>1</sup> a light retinue on a pilgrimage to (the tombs of) the Sheikhs of Multān; and from there came to Dibālpūr.

As he had no better (officer) than 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he took the provinces of Dibālpūr and Jālandhar from Shams-ul-Mulk and conferred them on him; and Bianāh which was the Jāgir of 'Imād-ul-Mulk was transferred to Shams-ul-Mulk. The Sultân then <sup>2</sup> went to Dehli. As the duties of the Vazārat could not be carried out by Sarwar-ul-Mulk, and Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn was <sup>3</sup> trustworthy in all matters, the Sultân made over the affairs of the nobles to his jurisdiction, and decided, that the two should attend to all affairs in consultation with each other. <sup>4</sup> Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn was a man of understanding and experience; he became the refuge of the people, and gained an ascendancy in the discharge of official matters. Sarwar-ul-Mulk had been hurt in his feelings on account of the transfer of Dibālpūr and his old Jāgirs and became hostile through envy, and made the sons of <sup>5</sup> Kānku and Kāju who had been brought up by this (i.e. the Sultan's) family, and had acquired wealth and followers join him, and having made the <sup>6</sup> Mirān-Sadr Nāib 'Ariz Mumālik and Qāzi Abdus Samad

<sup>1</sup> چریده , alone, or with a light retinue.

<sup>2</sup> چریده : بایلغار ازان حدود در روز عید قربان بدھلی رسید Badāonī says i.e., with a light retinue he came by forced marches from those parts and arrived in Dehli, on the day of the 'Id of sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> The lith. edn. has مستعد , ready, the MSS. have معتبر or معتبر trustworthy. Badāonī calls the man Malik Kamāl-ul-Mulk, but Ferishta has Kamāl-ud-dīn, but later he is called Kamāl-ul-Mulk in Ferishta also. In fact there is a good deal of confusion between Kamāl-ud-dīn and Kamāl-ul-Mulk in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. of the *Tabaqat Akbari* also.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī calls him ملک کمالالملک کہ نائب لشکر بود Malik Kamāl-ul-Mulk who was the deputy (superintendent ?) of the army.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī calls them کانگو و کجوی کہتری , Kāngu and Kajwī Khatrī.

<sup>6</sup> I do not know whether the whole of this is the title of one man.

<sup>1</sup> special chamberlain also join him in the enmity, was on the lookout for an opportunity. At this time Sultān Mubārak Shāh laid the foundations of a city on the bank of the river Jumna on the 17th day of the month of Rabi'ul-āwwal 837 A.H. (1433 A.D.) and called it<sup>2</sup> Mubārakābād.

At this time the news of the victory at Tabarhindah and the head of Faulād Turkbachah were brought to Dehli. Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to Tabarhindah on the <sup>3</sup> pretext of hunting there, and, in a short time, having made the zamindārs of that country obedient to orders and submissive, came back to Mubārakābād. At this time intelligence was brought that warfare was going on between Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī and Sultān Hoshang Mālwi at Kālpi, and Sultān Mubārak Shāh started for Kālpi in the month of Jamādi-ul-ākhir of the aforementioned year, after issuing *farmans* summoning the amirs of the provinces; and encamping in the neighbourhood of Dehli waited there for a few days to enable the troops to assemble. It so happened that on Friday the 9th of the month of Rajab 837 A.H. <sup>4</sup> Sultān Mubārak Shāh went to superintend the works at Mubārakābād; and he had no one with him except a few particular and intimate companions. Sarwar-ul-Mulk, who was waiting for an opportunity, gave a signal to the desperate men who had conspired with him; and they

<sup>1</sup> خاص حاجب .

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless after his own name; but Badāonī indulges in a pun on the meaning of the word Mubārak (auspicious), and says در معنی خراباد بود meaning of the word Mubārak (auspicious), and says در معنی خراباد بود i.e. and named it Mubārakābād (the auspicious city) though in meaning (i.e. in reality) it was Kharābābād (or the city of ruin); in allusion to the fact that the Sultān was assassinated there.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the words بهانه pretext, is explained by the following passage in Badāonī مبارک شاه ازین خورشعالي در پوست ننگجیده بابلغار بجانب تبرعندۀ تبرعندۀ مبارک شاه ازین خورشعالي در پوست ننگجیده بابلغار بجانب تبرعندۀ تبرعندۀ from which it appears that he did not really go on a hunting excursion, but was so overjoyed at the news that he was ready to jump out of his skin and could not deny himself the pleasure of paying a hurried visit to Tabarhindah.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī does not give the date but he gives some details. He says روزی با جمعی محدود بی نگلخانه بدان جانب سوار شده استمداد نماز جمعه میکرد. کثرتان مبران صدر که باقوای سرور ملک پیوسته در کین بوده فرصت وقت می جستند، اتفاق کرده در محل مبارک شاهی به بهانه در آمد و سده پال نیرۀ کجوی کهنری بدبخت آن بادشاه سعید را شهید ساخت .

at once lifted up their swords, and made Sultān Mubārak Shāh a martyr. The period of his reign was thirteen years, three months and sixteen days.

MUHAMMAD SHĀH, <sup>1</sup>SON OF MUBĀRAK SHĀH, SON OF  
KHIZR KHAN.

Muhammad Shāh was the son of Shāhzādah Farīd son of Khizr Khān. As Mubārak Shāh had called him his son, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* which was written in his (Mubārak Shāh's) reign has mentioned him as the son of Mubārak Shāh. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Bahādur Shāhī* has described him as the son of Farīd Shāhzādah. And in other histories the sonship of Mubārak Shāh has been attributed to him. In this book also the relationship has been mentioned, as it is ordinarily known.

In short in the late hours of the Friday on which Sultān Mubārak Shāh attained to martyrdom, Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of sovereignty by consent of the amīrs and the great pillars (officers) of state. Sarwar-ul-Mulk, although he had outwardly declared his allegiance, still kept possession of the paraphernalia of sovereignty, such as the treasury, the elephants and the armoury. Sarwar-ul-Mulk received the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and Mirān Sadr that of Muīn-ul-Mulk. <sup>2</sup>Malik-ush-Sharq Kamāl-ud-dīn waited for an opportunity for avenging the murder of Mubārak Shāh against Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Mirān Sadr and <sup>3</sup> all the base ungrateful wretches. On the day following the accession of Muhammad Shāh, Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent for such of the slaves of Mubārak Shāh, as possessed any forces, on the pretext of their declaring their allegiance, and seized some of them and <sup>4</sup> put them to death and imprisoned others, such as Karamchand and

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of all the MSS. and the lith. edn. Muhammad Shāh however was really the son of Farīd Khān and he is described as such by Badāʿonī. The reason why he is called the son of Mubārak Shāh is explained in the opening lines of the account of his reign in the *Tabaqāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Badāʿonī says he resided outside the city *بیرون شهر توطن اختیار نمود* and he seems to have remained quiescent, and it was Sarwar-ul-Mulk that took aggressive steps.

<sup>3</sup> The actual words *سایر حرام خواران*.

<sup>4</sup> There are some variations in the readings. One MS. omits *بعضی را* and *سیاست کرد* and the same MS. has the word *ملک* before *چند* and reads

Malik Maqbūl and Malik Fatūh; and began to make all sorts of efforts for completely destroying the Mubārak Shāhi slaves. He also kept in his own possession the parganas in the vicinity of the capital, which were the epitome and the select (i.e. the most valuable) of all; and distributed a few amongst the other Amīrs, and he made over the parganas of Biānah, and Amroha, and Narnol and Kuhrām and some parganas in the Doāb to <sup>1</sup>Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran and their relations. He also sent <sup>2</sup>Abu Shah his own slave to <sup>3</sup>Biānah for collecting the (arrear) revenue of some years. The latter arrived in the town of Biānah on the 12th of the aforesaid month, and tried to seize the fort. Yusuf Khān Auhadī receiving information of this, came to Biānah from <sup>4</sup>Hindwan, and fought with and slew Abu Shah, and the members of his family, and his sons were taken prisoners. As the ingratitude of Sarwar-ul-Mulk was patent to everybody, most of the amīrs, who had been nourished by the salt of Khizr Khān and Sultān Mubārak Shāh were thinking how they could do for him. Sarwar-ul-Mulk was also planning how he could seize them. At this time news came that <sup>5</sup>Ilhadād Kakā Lodi governor of Sambal and <sup>6</sup>Āhr, and Malik Chaman governor of Badāūn. and Amīr 'Alī Gufrātī, and Amīr

فدوح قنوج as فدوح. Ferishtah also has *کرم چند ملک* before قنوج and has فدوح for قنوج. he also says that Sarwar-ul-Mulk conferred the title of Khān-i-'Azam Saiyad Khān on the son of Saiyed Sālim, and large Jāgīrs, to bring him to his own side, and that he intended ultimately to make himself the Sultān.

<sup>1</sup> There are some variations in these names. Badāonī describes them as Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran Khetrī and describes them as the قاتل or murderers of Mubārak Shāh. Sidh Pāl was the man who according to Badāonī, actually cut down the Sultān (see note 4, p. 321).

<sup>2</sup> He is called Abu Shah in the lith. edn. and some MSS. and *نورش* in other MSS. Badāonī calls him *سید* (Rānūn Sīd), the slave of Sidh Pāl.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī also has Biānah, but the lith. edn. of Ferishtah has *Nāmānah* which is of course incorrect.

<sup>4</sup> Col. Ranking says that the text and both MSS. read *هندون* which he transliterates as Hindūn but Ferishtah has *هندوان* Hindwān, so he adopts that. He also says that Hindaun which is nearer *هندوان* than *هندون* is about 20 miles south of Biānah and is situated in the Jaypur State.

<sup>5</sup> That is how he is called in most of the MSS. In one MS. and in the lith. edn. and in Ferishtah (lith. edn.) he is called Ilhadād Lodi. Badāonī, calls him Ilhadād Kālū Lodi.

<sup>6</sup> In Buland Shahar district, U.P., 20 miles north-west of Buland Shahar.

<sup>1</sup> Kabīk Turkbachah had raised the standard of hostility; and Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent <sup>2</sup> Kamāl-ud-dīn, and Saiyad Khān, and Yusuf Khān, younger son of Sidhāran Kānkū to crush their rebellion. Kamāl-ud-dīn encamped on the bank of the Jumna in the month of Ramazān. He went from there to the town of Baran and waited there with the object of avenging the murder of Mubārak Shāh on the son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and on Sidhāran. Malik Ilhadād knowing Kamāl-ud-dīn to be a friend did not advance from Āhār. Sarwar-ul-Mulk was now aware of Kamāl-ud-dīn's treachery and sent <sup>3</sup> Malik Hushyār his slave on the pretext of helping Kamāl-ud-dīn, so that being aware of his treachery he might attend to the safety of Yusuf and Sidhāran. At this time Malik Chaman came to Āhār. and joined Malik Ilhadād. Malik Yusuf and Sidhāran and Hushyār were already suspicious of the treachery of Kamāl-ud-dīn; and their suspicion increased; and they separated themselves from the army, and came to Dehli; and in the end of the month of Ramazān Malik Ilhadād and Malik Chaman with the other amirs who were of the same opinion as themselves joined Kamāl-ud-dīn. The latter then with a great force turned towards Dehli and Sarwar-ul-Mulk shutting himself up in the fort of Dehli <sup>4</sup> fought with them for a period of three months.

At this time the news of the death of Zīrak Khān, governor of Sāmānah, reached Dehli. His Jagir was entrusted to his son Muhammad Khān. Muhammad Shāh, although outwardly he remained on friendly terms with the people in the fort, yet waited for the right

<sup>1</sup> This name is given as کبیک and کبک in the MSS. Badāonī does not give his name at all. Ferishtah calls him کک, Kank.

<sup>2</sup> There is a great deal of diversity and doubt about these names. I have adopted the reading which appeared to be the most correct on a comparison of the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāonī names Malik-ush-Sarq Kamāl-ul-Mulk and Saiyad Khān son of Saiyad Sālim as the two who were actually nominated, but Malik Yusuf son of Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Sidhāran and Kānkū also were appointed to go with them. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) says that Sarwar-ul-Mulk sent Saiyad Khān and Sidhāran and Yusuf Khān his own son with Kamāl-ul-Mulk.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī calls him Sarwar-ul-Mulk's Nāib, and says he was sent on the pretext of helping Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, but really as a spy.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī gives some details of the fighting.

moment and right opportunity for avenging the murder of his father; and Sarwar-ul-Mulk also being cognisant of this waited for an opportunity for murdering Muhammad Shāh. Suddenly on the 8th of Muharram 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.) Sarwar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Mirān Sadr deceitfully and treacherously lifted up their swords, and came into the pavilion of Muhammad Shāh. The latter, for fear of these, was always accompanied by a large body of his friends and well-wishers, and was always ready to fight. They killed Sarwar-ul-Mulk on the spot; and seizing the sons of Mirān Sadr had them punished in front of the *darbār*. Couplet:—

The gazelle that seeks the lion to fight,  
The earth with its blood becomes tulip-red.

Sidh' Pāl and other base wretches shut themselves up, and prepared for battle. Muhammad Shāh brought Kamāl-ud-dīn into the city. Sidh' Pāl set fire to his house and making his wife and son food for fire, was slain. By order of Muhammad Shāh, Sidhārān, Kānku and the <sup>2</sup> Khetris who had been seized were all punished near the <sup>3</sup> *khatirah* of Mubārak Shāh. Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were beheaded in front of the red gate.

On the next day Kamāl-ud-dīn, with all the amirs who were outside the fort, did fresh homage to Muhammad Shah; and in concert with the people in general seated him on the throne of sovereignty. Kamāl-ud-dīn received the post of Vazārat, and the title of Kamāl Khān. Malik Chaman received the title of Ghazi-ul-Mulk, and the districts of Amroha and Badāun were confirmed to him as before. Malik Ilhadād Lodi did not accept any title for himself

سده بالا بدبخت آتش در خان مان خود زد و  
جوسر (که بزبان هندی مشهور است) کرده خود بچنگ پیوست و علف آتش تیغ  
بیدریغ گشت.

<sup>2</sup> There is some difficulty about this word. The lith. edn. has کهرمانی and the MSS. have کهرمانی, کهرمانی, کهرمانی. Badāoni has سدهارن and Ferishtah has سدهارن با جمیع کهرمان and کانگو و دیگر غایفه کهرمان, from which it is clear that the doubtful word is کهرمانی. As to the punishment Badāoni says بردار سیاست کردند, i.e. were impaled. Ferishtah says معقوت نام were put to death with great tortures.

<sup>3</sup> خطیره literally means an enclosure, but here it means a tomb enclosed by walls or a palisade.



but took the title of Daryā Khān for his <sup>1</sup> brother. Malik <sup>2</sup> Khutarsj. Mubārak Khān got the title of Iqbāl Khān and the district of Hisār Firoza was confirmed to him as before; and all the amirs were honoured with rewards and increase of stipends. The elder son of Saiyad Sālim got the title of Majlis-i-'Āli Saiyad Khān, and his younger son Shujā'-ul-Mulk; and <sup>3</sup> Malik Badah, 'Alā-ul-Mulk. Malik Rukn-ud-dīn was made Nasir-ul-Mulk; and <sup>4</sup> Malik-ush-Sharq Hājī was made Shahna (Superintendent) of Dehli.

In the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal of the afore-mentioned year, Muhammad Shāh travelled towards Multān. At the camp at Mubārakpūr most of the amirs such as <sup>5</sup> Imād-ul-Mulk, and Islām Khān, and Muhammad Khān son of Nasrat Khān, and Yusuf Khān Auhadī, and Iqbāl Khān, and all the royal servants came and joined him. Muhammad Shāh, after making pilgrimages to the shrines of the

<sup>1</sup> Only one MS. has برادر خورد خود, his younger brother; the other MSS., the lith. edn., Badāonī and Feriāhtah all have only برادر خود, his brother.

<sup>2</sup> The name is doubtful and its meaning is not at all clear. One MS. has کهری تراج مبارک خان, other MSS. have کهونراج مبارک خان, the lith. edn. has کهونراج مبارک خان. Feriāhtah has کهونراج مبارک خانی; but Briggs does not give the name, but includes him among the rest of the nobles. Badāonī does not name him at all.

<sup>3</sup> He is called Malik Badah ملک بدہ in most of the MSS., but in one he is called Malik Saida and in one Malik Sadah, and ملک صدہ in the lith. edn. He is not mentioned either by Badāonī or by Feriāhtah.

<sup>4</sup> He is Malik-ush-Sharq Hājī or Jājī or Hājib in the MSS. and in the lith. edu. He is not mentioned by Badāonī. Feriāhtah calls him حاجی مندلی Hājī Sandalī-al-Mashhūr ba Hissām Khān. Hissām Khān is of course repeatedly mentioned further on.

<sup>5</sup> Badāonī does not give any names. He simply says چند روز در مبارکپور, i.e. he waited for a few days at Mubārakpūr, so that the Amirs of the provinces might join him. Feriāhtah says اکثر امرا در آمدن متامل گردیدند و چون عیاد الملک از ملتان بخدمت رسید همه امرا و سران سپاه مثل اسلام خان لودھی و یوسف خان اوحدی و اقبال خان بدنگاه آمده بخلاصه فائزہ مباہمی گشتند, i.e. most of the nobles hesitated about coming, but when Imād-ul-Mulk came from Multān, all the amirs and commanders of armies, etc., such as Islām Khān Lodhī and Yusuf Khān Auhadī and Iqbāl Khān came to the court and were honoured with valuable robes of honour.

Sheikhs of Multān, and leaving Khān-i-Khānān there, returned the same year to Dehli, and in the year 840 A.H. (1436 A.D.) he marched towards Sāmānah, and sent an army against <sup>1</sup>Sheikh Khokhar and after laying waste his country came to Dehli.

In the year 841 A.H. (1437 A.D.) news was brought that owing to the turbulence of a band of <sup>2</sup>Lankahs there was disturbance in Multān. News also came that Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī had taken possession of some parganas; and the Rāy of Gwālār and other Rāys were withholding payment of revenue. As the vein of honour was not in motion in Muhammad Shāh and indolence and carelessness prevailed on him, a madness was produced in every head and a hankering in every heart. :—Couplet :—

When the Shāh his domain forgets to rule,  
Every head doth hanker after it.

Some of the <sup>3</sup>Miwātī amīrs summoned Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī the bādshāh of Malwah; and in the year 844 A.H. (1440 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd arrived in Dehli. Muhammad Shāh having arrayed his troops sent his own son outside (the fort or the city) and made Malik Bahlol Lodi the commander of the vanguard. Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī also sent his two sons <sup>4</sup>Sultān Ghīās-ud-dīn and Qadr Khān. From morning till evening the dust of disturbance and battle rose; and at night both parties returned and took up their position in their own places. The next day Muhammad Shāh proposed peace.

<sup>1</sup> One MS. has چسرت و شیخا. Badāoni also has Sheikhā here, but Ferishtah has Jasrat.

<sup>2</sup> They are so called in all the MSS. (except in one where they are called گنگ which is evidently a mistake) and in the Persian text of Badāoni. In the Persian text of Ferishtah they are called گنگ. Col. Ranking calls them "the tribe of Langahs," and Col. Briggs "the Afghāns called Lungā."

<sup>3</sup> Some of the MSS. have بعضی میواتیان, one has بعضی امرا. the lith. edn. has بعضی امرا. Badāoni has خانہ زادہای میرات.

<sup>4</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. prefix Sultān before the name of Ghīās-ud-dīn. As to the second name they have Qadr and Fadn and Fadāin Khān. The lith. edn. has قدر. Badāoni has Ghīās-ud-dīn without the Sultān and Madn Khān, but Col. Ranking has Qadr Khān in the translation and he says in a note that "the text has مدن خان and MS. A. قدن خان, but Ferishtah has قدر خان and so has the Tabaqāt Akbari." Ferishtah has Ghīās-ud-dīn and Qadr Khān but the MSS. of the Tabaqāt Akbari that I have seen have not got Qadr Khān.

In the meanwhile news was brought to Sultān Mahmūd that <sup>1</sup>Sultān Ahmad Gujrātī was advancing towards Mandu. He therefore consented to a settlement, and turned back. And this peace became the cause of a greater humiliation for Muhammad Shāh, in the eyes and in the hearts (of men). As Sultān Mahmūd started on his return journey Malik Bahlol Lodī pursued him and seized as plunder a <sup>2</sup>part of his camp equipage and heavy baggage. Muhammad Shāh was very pleased with this service rendered by Malik Bahlol, honoured him with royal favours and called him by the name of son.

In the year 845 A.H. (1441 A.D.) Sultān Muhammad Shāh marched towards Sāmānah; and having made Dībālpūr and Lahore over to Malik Bahlol, and sending him to destroy Jasrat Khokhar, himself returned to Dehli. Jasrat made peace with Malik Bahlol, and <sup>3</sup>gave him the pleasant hope of his becoming Sultān of Dehli. The ambition of becoming the Sultān having entered his head, Malik Bahlol commenced to collect men; and summoned Afghāns from all sides and directions, and retained them (in his service). In a very

<sup>1</sup> Badāʾunī does not say so. He says سلطان محمود ابن معني را غنيمت دانسته و خواب دیدن خرابی ملک مالو را بهانه ساخته شبشب جریده بجانب مالو کرد , i.e. Sultān Mahmūd taking advantage of this (i.e. of the proposal of peace) and making a pretext of having seen the ruin of the kingdom of Mālwah in a dream, started at night in light order for Mālwah. Both the Sultāns appear to have vied with each other in pusillanimity. According to Ferishta however Sultān Muhammad was the worse coward of the two. He says, that in spite of the pomp and vast number of his army Sultān Muhammad repeatedly said that there was no necessity of his mounting to face the enemy; that his troops gained a victory mainly through the bravery of Bahlol Lodī; that in the night Sultān Mahmūd had his dream; and in the morning heard of the invasion of Mālwah by Sultān Ahmad, but he could not for very shame propose terms of peace, when Sultān Muhammad without any reason or necessity and without consulting anybody sent proposals of peace.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta says جمعی کثیر را بقتل رسانید و مال و غنای بسیار بدست آورد , i.e. slew a large body and seizing much property and wealth preserved the honour of the Dehli army.

<sup>3</sup> Badāʾunī has به بشارت سلطنت دهلي مبشر ساخت . Ferishta says و ملک بهلول در ولایت لاهور بغایت قوی شده افغانان بسیار برو جمع آمدند و جرست کبک باو طریق دوستی پیموده ببادشاهی دهلي ترغیب داد . It appears that the wily Jasrat, like the witches in Macbeth, all hailed Bahlol as Sultān of Dehli.

short time a great multitude joined him ; and he took possession of many parganas in his neighbourhood ; and laying the foundation of hostility with Sultān Muhammad Shāh, with little ostensible reason, with great pomp and power, marched on Dehli, and having besieged it for a considerable time, returned without attaining his object. The <sup>1</sup> affairs of Sultān Muhammad Shāh declined from day to day, and things came to such a pass that amirs who were within twenty *Karōhs* of Dehli, having turned their heads from obedience (to Dehli), openly declared their independence. At last in the year <sup>2</sup> 847 A.H. (1443 A.D.) Sultān Muhammad Shah returned the deposit of his life to its giver. The period of his reign was ten years and some months.

Verse :—Such is the custom of the revolving age ;  
It gives now kindness, and hardship now ;  
To hope from it for faith and loyalty,  
Is like to hope for light from dim <sup>3</sup> Suha ;  
For two days is its fickle unstable love ;  
No sign there is in its face of faith and truth.

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<sup>1</sup> Ferishtāh also has *سلطنت محمد شاه روز بروز سستی پذیرفته* Col. Briggs leaving out the first two words translates the rest, as becoming day by day weaker ; as if the passage referred to the Sultān's health.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. give 847 A.H. as the year of his death. The lith. edn. has 844 A.H. which is manifestly incorrect. Badāoni has 847 A.H. as the year of the Sultān's death, but he gives him a reign of 14 years and some months which is certainly incorrect. Ferishtāh says Sultān Muhammad Shāh died in 849 A.H. Col. Ranking thinks that Ferishtāh's date is probably correct and has a fairly long note in support of it. He says that there is no evidence to show that Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn ascended the throne in 847 A.H. and as Sultān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne in 837 A.H. and Ferishtāh says he reigned for 12 years, he must have died in 849 A.H. ; but there is no reason, why if Ferishtāh made a mistake about the year of Muhammad Shāh's death he should not have made a mistake about the length of his reign also. Col. Ranking says we should accept Ferishtāh's plain and coincident statement. The difficulty however is that neither Ferishtāh himself nor any other historian says what happened in the five years between 845 A.H. and 849 A.H. There is of course a similar difficulty about there being no mention of any event between 845 A.H. and 847 A.H. supposing that to be the correct date of Muhammad Shāh's death and between 847 A.H. and 850 A.H. when Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn marched towards Sāmānah.

<sup>3</sup> Suha<sup>3</sup> is the name of an obscure Star in the Lesser Bear.

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SULTÂN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN SON OF MUHAMMAD SHĀH, SON OF  
MUBĀRAK SHĀH, SON OF KHĪZER KHĀN.

On the death of Sultân Muhammad Shāh the amirs and the great officers of State seated his son on the throne of sovereignty, giving him the title of Sultân 'Alā-ud-dīn. <sup>1</sup> Malik Bahlol and all the amirs did homage to him. Within a short time it became clear that Sultân 'Alā-ud-dīn was even less intelligent, and weaker in affairs of state than his father. The madness in the brain of Malik Bahlol became stronger. Couplet :—

When he sees that from the <sup>2</sup> serpent there's no fear,  
The wise from the treasure does not his hand withdraw. ✓

293 In the year 850 A.H. (1445 A.D.) Sultân 'Alā-ud-dīn rode out towards Sāmānah; and while he was on his way, news reached him that the bādshāh of Jaunpūr was marching to attack Dehli. The Sultân returned quickly and came to Dehli. <sup>3</sup> Hisām Khān who was the Vazīr of the empire, and the regent during the absence of the Sultân, represented (to the latter) that the return of the Sultân, merely on hearing a false rumour of the approach of the enemy, was not befitting to the dignity of his state. Sultân 'Alā-ud-dīn was vexed and pained at these words, which were contrary to his disposition. In the year 851 A.H. (1447 A.D.) he moved towards Badāūn; and after staying there for some time returned to Dehli. He then declared that he was pleased with Badāūn, and wished to stay there permanently. Hisām Khān again, out of the sincerity of his heart, explained to him, that to abandon Dehli, and to make Badāūn the seat of the throne was not advisable for his good. The Sultân was still more vexed at these words, and separating him from himself, left him in Dehli.

<sup>1</sup> This agrees with Badāonī *در بیعت در بخت دیگر با امرای بھلول لودی* i.e. and Malik Bahlol Lodī with the other amirs came to do him homage. Ferishtah however makes a contrary statement. He says *جمله امرا غیر از ملک بھلول لودی به تختگاه آمدہ بیعت کردند* i.e. all the amirs, except Malik Bahlol Lodhi, came to the foot of the throne and did homage.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to the fable that hidden treasures are guarded by serpents.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī does not mention this representation or remonstrance of Hisām Khān. Ferishtah does, Hisām Khān is later mentioned by Badāonī, as *عمدة الملک* and has his right name in the Persian text, but in the English translation he is changed to Hussain Khān.

He made the two brothers of his wife one the Shahnah (Superintendent) of the city, and the other the Superintendent of the roads. Couplet :—

He had no skill in affairs of state.

Shame and disgrace he got from the hands of fate.

Again in the year 852 A.H. (1448 A.D.) he went to Badāūn, and there giving himself up to sensual pleasures, was contented with the small tract of country that was under his rule. After a time there was enmity between the two brothers of his wife, who were in Dehli; and they fought with each other, and one of them was killed. On the following day the people of the city, under the instigation of Hisām Khān, killed the second brother in revenge for the death of the first. ✓ At this time the Sultān on the <sup>1</sup> instigation of treacherous men attempted to put Hamid Khān, who was the Vazīr, to death; and he fled and coming to Dehli joined Hisām Khān; and took possession of the city and summoned Malik Bahlol to take up the empire; and the details of this brief account will be mentioned in the history of Malik Bahlol. ✓ In short <sup>2</sup> Malik Bahlol Lodi came with a large force to Dehli and took possession of it. After a few days he left a body of his well-wishers at Dehli, and himself marching towards Dībālpūr commenced to collect an army. He also sent a representation to Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn to say that he was only striving for the good of the Sultān; and he knew himself to be the slave of the latter. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn wrote in reply "As my father called you by the name of son, and I have no anxiety for provision for my few wants, I am contented with the one parganah of Badāūn, and am giving up the empire to you." Couplet :—

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<sup>1</sup> Col. Ranking says that Ferishtah gives a full account of the attempt on Hamid Khān's life and says that Qutb Khān and Rāy Pertab, the latter of whom had a blood feud against Hamid Khān, instigated the Sultān. The author of the *Tabaqāt Akbari* (from whom no doubt Ferishtah copied it) gives the same account, only he does so in his account of the reign of Sultān Bahlol Lodi.

<sup>2</sup> According to Badāūnī, Bahlol Lodi after he had been made Sultān at Dehli went in the absence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn to Sirhind and there assumed the title of Sultān and had the *Khubrah* read in his name; he then came with a large force to Dehli and took possession of it, and then again left the capital in charge of his Naib and went to Dībālpūr to raise an army.

Without the headache of the lance and the drawing of the sword,  
The object, which was the hankering for dominion, was attained.

Malik Bahlol with victory and daily increasing prosperity, and finding that the garment of sovereignty fitted his stature, achieved his purpose. He came from Dībālpūr to Dehli and seating himself on the throne of empire, assumed the title of Sultān Bahlol. Among the amirs of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, those who had joined him, had their stipends confirmed and made permanent. After some time Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, made the <sup>1</sup> last journey; and the world became the possession of Sultān Bahlol. The period of his (Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's) reign was seven years and some months.

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## <sup>2</sup> SULTÂN BAHLOL LODI.

It is current from tradition, that Malik Bahlol is the nephew of Sultān Shah Lodi who had the title of Islām Khān, and was one of the great amirs of Khizr Khān and Sultān Mubārak Shāh and ruled in Sirhind. As he saw signs of ability and nobility in his nephew, Islām Khān brought him up as his son, and about the end of his life having appointed him to be his successor, passed away. Islām Khān had a son of the name of Qutb Khān. He turned his head aside from submission to Malik Bahlol, and went to Sultān Muhammad. The latter sent <sup>3</sup> Hajī Shudni who had the title of

<sup>1</sup> The year of his death is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt*. Badāonī says it took place in 855 A.H. According to *Ferishtah* however, although his reign as emperor terminated in 855 A.H., he lived for quite a long time afterwards apparently in peaceful and contended obscurity in Badāun and did not die till 883 A.H. (1418 A.D.) having ruled in Badāun for 28 years.

<sup>2</sup> The heading is given as above in all the MSS. (except one which omits Lodi), in the lith. edn. and in *Ferishtah*. Badāonī has Sultān Bahlol son of Kālā Lodi but one MS. of Badāonī omits کالہ.

<sup>3</sup> This name is very doubtful. Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have حاجی شدنی as I have given it in the text. The other MSS. have حاجی شرنی Hāji Sharnī or حاجی شرقي Hāji Sharqī. Badāonī does not mention these transactions at all. *Ferishtah* says, Muhammad Shāh first sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfa with a strong army in support of Qutb Khān. Bahlol Lodi divided his followers in three parts; an engagement took place, and the Afghāns were defeated. Bahlol had not however been present at the battle. He now became a freebooter and collected many Afghāns and some Mughals

Hisām Khān with a large army against Malik Bahlol. The two parties fought at the village of <sup>1</sup> Kadha, one of the villages in Pargana Khizrābād and <sup>2</sup> Sadhorah, and Hisām Khān was defeated and went back to Dehli. Malik Bahlol then acquired much strength and power.

They say that one day in the beginning of his career, Malik Bahlol went with two friends to Sāmānah. There was a *darvesh* there of the name of Saiyad <sup>3</sup> Ibn. Malik Bahlol with his two friends went to pay their respects to the holy man; and sat down respectfully. The 'absorbed one said; is there any of you who would buy the bādshāhī of Dehli for two thousand *tangahs*? Malik Bahlol had one thousand and six hundred tangahs in his bag. He brought it out, and placing it in front of the darvesh said "I have not more than this." The *Faqir* accepted it and said "may the bādshāhī be auspicious for thee." "His companions jested with and mocked him. He said in reply. "This cannot but be one of two things. If this story comes true, I shall have made a very cheap bargain, and if it does not, to do a service to a darvesh is surely not devoid of profit." Couplet:—

The wayfarers on the spiritual path when they see true piety,  
Bestow the empire of Kāūs and the dominion of Faridun on a *faqīr*.

And what is mentioned in some histories that Malik Bahlol had been engaged in trade, has no foundation whatever. Probably his paternal ancestors were traders and used to come to Hindustān.

In short, Malik Bahlol with his uncle Malik Firoz, and all his re-

and again took possession of Sirhind. It was then that Hisām Khān was sent against him. Ferishtah does not give any other name of Hisām Khān (see however note 4 p. 328).

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as كدہ in most of the MSS. and in Ferishtah. In the lith. edn. and in one of the MSS. it is written as گدہ.

<sup>2</sup> It is Sādhorah سادهورہ in most of the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Ferishtah has Shāhpūrah.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. give the name as given in the text ابن سيد. The lith. edn. has only ابن without the prefix سيد. Ferishtah calls the darvesh Saidā سيدا. He says that Bahlol went to Sāmānah (or Samānah as he calls it) on a visit to his uncle Isām Khān, and then went to the darvesh.

<sup>4</sup> The word used both in the *Tabaqāt* and in *Ferishtah* is محظرب i.e. one who is absorbed (in the love or contemplation of God).



lations was in possession of the district of Sirhind and acquired great power and strength. From the words of the Darvesh which he had in his mind from youth, and from the incitement of Jasrat Khokhar as has been narrated already, the bird of empire having laid an egg in his brain, he began to extend his territories. After his victory over Hisām Khān, Malik Bahlol sent a representation to the Sultān, containing an account of the unpleasantnesses of Hājī Shudni, and his own sincerity and loyalty; and also mentioned in it, that if the Sultān should put Hājī Shudni to death, and confer the post of Vazir on Hamid Khān, his slave (i.e. he himself) would be a loyal servant. Sultān Muhammad without any consideration and hesitation put Hisām Khān to death and made Hamid Khān His Vazir.

Doubtless from fate he would enmity see,

Who his friend, without reason, would slay.

The Lodis now came forward with sincerity and did homage to the Sultān; and their *Jāgīrs* were confirmed to them afresh. After Malik Bahlol had fought against Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi on the side of Sultān Muhammad, he was honoured with the title of Khān-i-Khānān. Gradually the Lodis, feeling stronger, took forcible possession of Lahore and Dībālpur, and Sunām and Hisār Firozāh and other parganas; and acquired very great power and influence. They had also become hostile, on account of their having taken possession of Lahore and Dībālpūr without the permission of Sultān Muhammad, so they now raised the standard of enmity, and advanced on Dehli against Sultan Muhammad. They besieged Dehli for a long time, but being unable to take it returned to Sirhind. Malik Bahlol then assumed the title of Sultān, but postponed the insertion of his name in the public prayer and the minting of coin in his own name, till the conquest of Dehli. At this time Sultān Muhammad died, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was placed on the throne by the endeavours of the Amirs and the great men of the kingdom. Couplet:

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<sup>1</sup> This agrees with what Ferishta says, who has almost the same words as the author of the *Tabaqāt*. Badsoni is slightly different. He says سلطان بر هند رفتند خطاب سلطانی بغیر قرار داد خطبه بغراند; this was however after he had taken possession of Dehli and been raised on the throne by Hisām Khān and Hamid Khān.

How excellent are <sup>1</sup> empire and wealth, with their heads  
hanging down.

The father's gone and the son's foot is in the stirrup.

At this time the whole of Hindustân being in the possession of different tribes, the Lodis had acquired very great power. <sup>2</sup> Āhmad Khān Miwāṭi was in possession (of the territory) from Mehrouti as far as Lādū Sarāi, which is close to the city of Dehli. The Lodis held the territory of Sirhind and Lahore as far as Pānpat. Daryā Khān Lodi was the ruler of the territory of Sambal to the ford of Khwājah-i-Khizr which is adjacent to the city of Dehli. <sup>3</sup> Isā Khān Turkbacha held Kol. Qutb Khān son of <sup>4</sup> Hasan Khān was the ruler of <sup>5</sup> Rābri. Rāy Partāb was in possession of the towns of Bhongāon, Batiali and Kampilā. Biānah was in the possession of Daūd Khān Auhadi. And Gujrāt, and Mālwah and the Deccan and Jāunpūr and Bangālāh each had an independent bādshāh. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had the city of Dehli and a few villages; and he was bādshāh with this territory!

Sultān Bahlol after collecting an army came a second time from Sirhind to Dehli. He could not capture the citadel of Dehli, so he went back to Sirhind. At this time Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn had a consultation with Qutb Khān, and Isā Khān, and Rāy Partāb, as to how he might strengthen his own position. They told him in reply, "if the Sultān would imprison Hamid Khān and dismiss him from the post of <sup>6</sup> Nazir, we would seize a few parganahs from the Amīrs, and add them to the Sultān's dominion." The Sultān ordered the arrest of Hamid Khān. Couplet:—

As if to the rose one said that amongst the birds of thy garden,  
Thou hadst none but the bulbul, why dost thou keep its wings tied  
up?

<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have زهی ملک و دولت که سر در نشیب. I have adopted this. Other MSS. and the lith. edn. have زهی ملک دوران سر در نشیب (lit.) head hanging down; i.e. all topsy-turvey.

<sup>2</sup> These divisions and the names of the rulers are given in Ferishta's in his account of the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn. Col Briggs says "This description of the territorial divisions is extremely useful. Besides these Kandeish, Sind and Mooltan had each its separate Mahomedan King." He however makes no attempt to identify the places. The divisions are not mentioned by Badāoni.

<sup>3</sup> He is Hasan Khān in some MSS. and Husen Khān in others.

<sup>4</sup> Rābri is variously given as رابی , Rābri , راپری , Rāpri , زبری , Rābri and زبری Rāpri.

The Sultān then started from Dehli and came to <sup>1</sup>Burhānābād near Mārharah. Qutb Khān and 'Isa Khān and Rāy Partāb there rendered homage to him, and said that they would include forty pārganas in the Sultān's dominion on condition that he would put Hamīd Khān to death. As before this Fateh Khān, father of Hamīd Khān, had laid waste Rāy Partab's territories and had taken possession of his wife, the latter incited the Sultān to put Hamīd Khān to death on account of this old enmity. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn who had no acquaintance with the administration of an empire, gave the order for the death of Hamīd Khān without any deliberation or delay. The brother of Hamīd Khān and his friends however, obtained his release from imprisonment by such stratagems as they could think of. He fled and came to Dehli. Malik Muhammad Jamāl who was his jailor or guard pursued him, and arriving at his house attacked it. He was however wounded by an arrow and slain, and a large body of men gathered round Hamīd Khān. There was a great disturbance and uproar and turmoil. Hamīd Khān entered the harem of the Sultān, and driving out his wives, daughters and sons with <sup>2</sup>bare uncovered heads from the citadel of the city, took possession of the treasures and paraphernalia of sovereignty. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn on account of the wretchedness of his fortune, delayed the taking of all revenge from day to day, and remained in Badāun, on account of the rains.

Hamīd Khān taking advantage of this, began to think of placing another on the throne instead of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn. As Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī, the bādshāh of Jaunpūr, was a <sup>3</sup>relation of Sultān

<sup>1</sup> One of the dependencies of Itāwah. Mārharah is given variously as بارهره, Bārhraah, پارهره, Parharah and مار هره Mārharah. It appears to have been a township in the Doāb.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah says حمید خان بهرم بادشاه در امدت زنان و دختران و پسران بادشاه را بیرون کشید و همه را سر و پای برهنه در غایت اهانت و بیعزت از حصار شهر بیرون کرده خرابین و اسباب بادشاهی را منصرف شد i.e. Hamīd Khān entered the harem of the bādshāh and dragged out the wives and daughters and sons of the bādshāh and drove them out of the citadel of the city with their heads and feet uncooered with the greatest insult and disgrace; and took possession of the treasure and the paraphernalia of the bādshāh.

<sup>3</sup> Sultan Hasan Sharqī one of the sons of Sultan Mahmūd Sharqī was married to Malkah-i-Jahān, a daughter of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn.

Ala-ud-dīn he did not consider it proper to summon him. Sultān Mahmūd the bādshāh of Māndu was at a distance. The Lodis were near. He summoned Malik Bahlol who was at Sirhind, and the latter came to Dehli with a large force after making terms and conditions. Hamīd Khān gave the keys of the citadel to Malik Bahlol. The latter sat on the throne of sovereignty on the <sup>1</sup>17th of the month of Rabi'-ul-āwwal, 855 A.H. (1451 A.D). <sup>2</sup> Quatrain :

On this turquoise throne every morn and eve,  
One die of fortune is shaken to the goal of success ;  
None has this fortune and this die borne away,  
Nor with full joy, the fruits of sovereignty did taste.

At that time Sultān Bahlol had <sup>3</sup>nine sons, viz. Khwājah Bāyezīd, his eldest son, Nizām Khān who took the title of Sultān Sikandar, Bārbak Shāh, Mubārak Khān, 'Ālām Khān celebrated as Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, Jamāl Khān, Miān Y'aqub, Fateh Khān, Miān Musa and Jalāl Khān ; and he had <sup>4</sup>thirty-four Amirs and relations ; viz. Qutb Khān son of Islām Khān Lodi, Daryā Khān Lodi, Tātār Khān son of Daryā Khān Lodi, Mubārak Khān Lohānī, Tātār Khān Yusuf Khail, Umār Khān Sharwānī, Qutb Khān, son of Hasan Khān Afghān, Ahmad Khān Miwātī, Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, Ali Khān son of Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, Ali Khān Turkbachah, Sheikh Abu Sa'id Farmult, Ahmad Khān Shāmi, Khan-i-Khānān Lohānī, Shams Khān, Vazīr Khān, Khan-i-Khānān son of Ahmad Khān, Sheikh Ahmad Khan Sharwānī, Nihang Khān, Lashkar Khan, Shahāb Khān, Dabir

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī gives the year of the accession 855 A.H. but not the date. Ferishta says he was already in possession of Dehli for some time, but he removed the name of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn from the Khutbah and openly and formally declared himself to be the Sultān, on the 17th Rabi'-ul-āwwal 855 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> One MS. calls these lines a مثنوی but others and the lith. edn. call them verses.

<sup>3</sup> Although our author and Ferishta both say that Bahlol had nine sons, they both give ten names. Col. Briggs gives only nine names, by omitting Mubārak Khān.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishta also says 34 but Col. Briggs says 36. The names given above generally agree with those in Ferishta. The latter however prefixes the title of Khān-Jahān Lodi to the name of Daryā Khān Lodi, substitutes Yusuf Khān Khail for Tātār Khān Yusuf Khail, omits 'Ali Khān son of Yusuf Khān Jilwānī, etc., etc.

Mubārīz Khān Bahta, Rustam Khān, Junān Khān, son of Malik Ghāzī, Miān Chaman son of Khān-i-Jahān, Hisām Khān Daur (?), 'Imad-ul-Mulk, Iqbāl Khān, Miān Farīd, Miān M'aruf Farmult, Rāy Partāb, Rāy Kilan and Rāy Karan.

Sultān Bahlol, outwardly, was adorned with piety, and was completely bound in obedience to the law of the prophet. In all matters he followed the path of the law; and was very enthusiastic in attending to justice and equity. He passed a great part of his time in the society of learned men and in the company of faqirs; and considered it right to show kindness to the poor and needy. In short, when Sultān Bahlol came to Dehli, Hamīd Khān had much pomp and power. He (Bahlol) considered it <sup>1</sup>advisable at the time to show consideration and gentleness to him; and everyday he went to offer him salutation. One day he became a guest of Hamīd Khān, and he instructed the Afghāns, to do certain acts which should be remote from reason and intelligence, so that he might consider them to be simple, and fear and respect for them might leave his mind, and he might not be careful about them. When the Afghāns came into the place of assembly, they commenced behaving in a strange manner, Some of them placed their shoes on a shelf above Hamīd Khān's head. Hamīd Khan said "what conduct is this?" They said "we are keeping them in safety from thieves." After a time the Afghāns said to Hamīd Khān "Your floor coverings have wonderful colours. If you would kindly give us one blanket from these, we would have caps and <sup>2</sup>fillets made out of it for our sons, and send them as valuable presents; so that the people of the world would know that we had acquired much honour and dignity in the service of Hamīd Khān. Hamīd Khan smiled and said; "I shall make presents of fine fabrics to you for this purpose." When (the attendants) brought fragrant dishes into the place where they were, some of the Afghāns licked up the gravies, and ate the flowers, and some of them opened the packets of betel-leaves and ate the lime alone and when

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<sup>1</sup> It is rather difficult to understand why Malik Bahlol acted in this puerile way. He could apparently have got rid of Hamīd Khān and need not have told his Afghāns to act in this grotesque way.

<sup>2</sup> The word is *ḥāṭṭ* which means a fillet specially one worn round a head dress.

their mouths were burnt, they threw down the packets from their hands. Hamid Khān asked Malik Bahlol, why they were behaving in this way. He replied that they were foolish rustics, and had been very little among men. They have no skill except in eating and in dying.

Another day, Malik Bahlol was Hamid Khān's guest. It was the custom that when Malik Bahlol went into the house, a few went in with him, and most of his men stood outside. On this occasion, when Malik Bahlol became a guest, the Afghāns, at his instigation kicked the gate-keeper, and forcibly entered the house, and said. We are also servants of Hamid Khān, why should we not be allowed to salute him. As there was a noise and uproar, Hamid Khān inquired of the reason. He was told that the Afghans were abusing Malik Bahlol and were saying 'we are also servants of Hamid Khān, just like Malik Bahlol; he has come inside; why should we also not do so and make our salutations to him? Hamid Khān said 'leave them alone.'

Couplet:

No more for life do you dare hope;  
If in your garment you keep a snake.

The Afghāns rushed in, in a crowd and two of them went and stood by the side of each of the attendants of Hamid Khān who were round him. At this time Qutb Khān Lodi brought out a chain from his bosom, and placing it before Hamid Khān said, "it is advisable that you should remain in seclusion for a few days; on account of the right of salt I do not make an attempt on your life." They seized Hamid Khān and made him over to guards. Malik Bahlol then took possession of Dehli without any prohibition or enmity from anybody; had his name inserted in the Khutbah (public prayer) and Sikkah (coin); and assumed the title of Sultān Bahlol. He then wrote to Sultān 'Ala-ud-din, "I was brought up by your father, and in reality, I am giving currency and dignity to the affairs of the government, which had got out of control, as your agent; and I do not strike off your name from the public prayer." The Sultān wrote in reply 'my father called you son, I consider you as my elder brother, I am leaving the empire to you and will be contented with Badāūn. Sultān Bahlol having now fully attained his object, commenced to attend to the affairs of the government;

and the same year, he marched to Multān and that neighbourhood in order to regulate the affairs of those districts.

The amirs of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, who were dissatisfied with the Lodis, having obtained the empire, summoned Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī from Jaunpūr and in the year 856 A.H. (1452 A.D.) Sultān Mahmūd arrived in Dehli with an immense force, and besieged it. Khawjah Bāezīd son of Sultān Bahlol shut himself up with other nobles. Sultān Bahlol on hearing the news returned from Dibālpūr and encamped at the village of <sup>1</sup>Nalira, which is fifteen *karohs* from Dehli, and his troops seized and brought away some <sup>2</sup>camels and bullocks which had been sent to the pastures from the army of Sultān Mahmūd. The latter deputed Fateh Khān <sup>3</sup>Harawī with thirty thousand horsemen and thirty elephants to attack Sultān Bahlol. The Lodis divided themselves into three armies and commenced the battle. Qutb Khān Lodi who was a specially distinguished archer wounded the elephant which led the vanguard of Fateh Khān's army and made it useless, so that it had to be withdrawn from the battle. Qutb Khan Lodi said in a loud voice to Daryā Khān Lodi who had joined Sultān Mahmūd and was arraying the troops. "Your mothers and sisters are shut up in the fort. Is it fitting that thou shouldst fight on the side of a stranger, and shouldst not protect the honour (of your own people)". Daryā Khān said "I am going, do not you pursue me." Qutb Khān took an oath. Daryā Khān turned his face; and at once on his doing so, Fateh Khān was defeated and taken prisoner. As Fateh Khān had killed <sup>4</sup>Pithorā brother of Rāy Karan, the latter

<sup>1</sup> That is the name according to the MSS. (except one which omits the name altogether) and in the lith. edn. Badāonī does not mention the place at all. Ferishta calls it Bir.

<sup>2</sup> The readings are difficult. Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have *دو بار شتر و گاوی*. Other MSS. have *شتر و گاران* Ferishta has *اشتران و گاران* which gives the best meaning 'some camels and bullocks which carried loads, belonging to the army of Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī.'

<sup>3</sup> This word is given as *هرروی*, *هرروی*, *Harbūl*, *Harawī*. This last which means 'of Herāt' is the correct reading.

<sup>4</sup> The different readings are *بهتواری*, *Bahtuāri*, *سه سوار*, *Seh Sawār*, *پینهورا* *Pithorā*, *بهنبر* *Bhaneu* in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Ferishta has *بهتواری*. Badāonī does not mention the details of the battle at all. I have

severed Fateh Khān's head and brought it to Sultān Bahlol. Sultān Mahmūd was unable to bear this calamity and retired towards Jaunpūr.

After this, Sultān Bahlol having acquired stability, became strong and powerful, and <sup>1</sup> marched out for putting his dominions in order. He went first to Miwāt. Āhmad Khān Miwāti went forward to receive him, and declared his allegiance. The Sultān took seven parganas out of his possession and left the remainder with him. Ahmad Khān Miwāti placed Mubārak Khān his uncle permanently in the service of the Sultān. The latter then went from Miwāt to Baran. Daryā Khān Lodi, the ruler of Sambal, also came and tendered his submission and allegiance, and gave up seven parganas as a tribute. The Sultān came from there to Kol, and confirmed it to 'Isā Khān as before. When he arrived at Burhānābād, the ruler of Saket came to render service and his jāgīr was also not taken from him. In the same way the territories of Rāy Partāb ruler of Bhongāon were left with him. The Sultān then went to the fort of Rāpri Qutb Khān, son of Hasan Khān, the ruler of the fort shut himself up in it, but in a short time, it was captured. Khān-i-Jahān gave his word to Qutb Khan and brought him to the Sultan, and his Jāgirs was confirmed to him. From that place he went to Itāwah, and the ruler of that place also declared his allegiance.

At this time <sup>2</sup> Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī again came to attack Sultān Bahlol and encamped in the territory of Itawah. On the first day the two armies fought with each other. The next day Qutb Khān and Ray Partāb proposed terms of peace and it was settled that whatever had been in the possession of Mubarak Shāh, bādshah of Dehli should belong to Sultan Bahlol, and whatever had been in the possession of Sultān Ibrahim Bādshah of Jaunpūr should appertain to Sultān Mahmūd; and Sultan Bahlol should send back the seven elephants belonging to Sultan Mahmūd which had fallen into his hands at the time of the defeat of Fateh Khan Harawi.

taken Pithora which was the name given by Musalman historians to Prithvi Rāj of Dehli.

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah agrees generally in the account of Sultan Bahlol's progress. Bada'oni does not mention it at all.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah copies this almost word for word. Bada'oni is very brief.



It was also settled that Sultān Bahlol should at the end of the rains take Shamsābād from Junā Khān, who was the governor there on behalf of Sultān Mahmūd.

After this Sultān Mahmūd went to Jaunpūr; and Sultān Bahlol sent a *farmān* to Jūnā Khān that at the appointed time, he should march out of Shamsābād. The latter did not comply and Sultān Bahlol went against him; he fled. Sultān Bahlol gave Shamsābād to Rāy Karan. Sultān Mahmūd, on hearing this news, came to Shamsābād to attack Sultān Bahlol. Qutb Khān and Daryā Khān Lodi then made a night attack on the army of Sultān Mahmūd. Accidentally Qutb Khān's horse 'stumbled and Qutb Khān fell off and was taken prisoner. Sultān Mahmūd sent him to Jaunpūr; and he remained in prison for seven years. Sultān Bahlol left Shāhzādah Jalāl and Shāhzādah Sikandar and 'Imād-ul-Mulk to fight with the army of Sultān Mahmūd and to help Rāy Karan, who was in the fort; and himself engaged in warfare with Sultān Mahmūd. But at this time the latter became ill, and gave up his life. Verse :—

In this glass, there is sugar and poison too,  
It eats up life now, and now nourishes it.  
On the head of one, it places a crown of gold,  
Another enviously with sword it smites.  
Its malice is not in right place, nor is its love;  
No softness in this, nor loyalty in that.

Bibi Rājī his mother, with the consent of the amirs placed Shāhzādah Bhikhan Khān on the throne of empire and gave him the title of Muhammad Shāh. Peace was concluded between the two bādshāhs; and they bound themselves by an agreement that the territories of Sultān Mahmūd should be in the possession of Sultān Muhammad; and Sultān Bahlol should continue to hold whatever was in his possession. Muhammad Shāh went to Jaunpūr and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehli. When he came to the neighbourhood of Dehli, Shams Khātūn, the sister of Qutb Khān, sent him a message to the effect that as long as Qutb Khān should remain in

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<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have سکندری بدری خرد Ferishtah has سکندری خرد.

Muhammad Shāh's prison, rest and repose and sleep should be unlawful for the Sultān. The latter was grieved at this, and returning from <sup>1</sup>Dhankur, marched towards Jaunpūr to attack Sultān Muhammad. The latter also started from Jaunpūr. When he reached Shamsābād, he took it from Rāy Karan, who was its governor under Sultān Bahlol; and made it over to Junā Khān. Rāy Partāb who had formerly been united with Sultān Bahlol, seeing Muhammad Shāh's power joined him. Muhammad Shāh came to Sarsuti; and Sultān Bahlol encamped at Rābri near Sarsuti, and for sometime they fought with each other. Muhammad Shāh wrote an order to the Kotwāl of Jaunpūr from Sarsuti directing him to put to death, his (i.e. the Sultān's) brother Hasan Khān, and Qutb Khān, the son of Islām Khān Lodi. The Kotwāl sent a representation to the effect, that Bibi Rāji protected them both in such a way, that he was unable to put them to death. When Muhammad Shāh got this writing, he summoned his mother from Jaunpūr, so that she might conclude a peace between him and Hasan Khān, and give a part of the kingdom to the latter. Bibi Rāji then started from Jaunpūr. The Kotwāl put Shāhzādah Hasan Khān to death, in accordance with the *furmān* of Muhammad Shāh. Bibi Rāji performed the mourning ceremonies for Hasan Khān in Kanouj, and waited there; and did not go to Muhammad Shāh. The latter wrote to his mother that as all the Shāhzādahs would have the same fate, his revered mother should do the mourning for all of them at once.

Muhammad Shāh bādshāh was wrathful and blood thirsty. The amirs were in dread and terror of him. One day Shāhzādah Husen Khān, his brother, in company with Sultān Shāh and Jalāl Khān Ajodhani informed him, that Sultān Bahlol's army intended

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<sup>1</sup> The name of this place is given as دہنکور Dikfid, دہنکور, Dathkūr, دہنکور, Dīnkur and دھنکور, Dhankur, in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. Badkoni only says that as his cousin Qutb Khān had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shāh, Sultān Bahlol in contravention of the existing treaty went to attack Muhammad Shāh. He does not mention Shams Khātūn's appeal to Sultān Bahlol. Ferishtah does, but he says that on receiving her message, the Sultān did not go to Delhi but went towards Jaunpūr. He does not mention the place whence he changed the direction of his journey.

to make a night attack on them, and taking with them thirty thousand horsemen and thirty elephants separated themselves from Muhammad Shāh's army with the avowed intention of marching against the enemy; and remained on the bank of a <sup>1</sup> waterfall. Sultān Bahlol hearing this news sent an army against them. Shāhzādah Husen Khān wanted to take Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān with him and sent somebody to summon him. At this time Sultān Shāh said that it was not advisable to wait there. Jalāl Khān would come up to them from behind; and they started in the direction of Kanouj. It happened, that the army of Sultān Bahlol that had been deputed against them, came up, and occupied the place which they had previously occupied. Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān left the army of Muhammad Shāh in compliance with the summons of Husen Khān, and started towards the waterfall; and on arriving there thought the army of Sultān Bahlol to be that of Shāhzādah Husen Khān, and went close to it. Sultān Bahlol's troops seized him, and took him to Sultān Bahlol; and he knowing that he would be an exchange for Qutb Khān kept him in confinement. Muhammad Shāh being unable to meet him took the road to Kanouj. Sultān Bahlol pursued him as far as the river Ganges, and taking a part of his equipage and war-material returned.

When Shāhzādah Husen Khān in the year 855 A.H. (1451 A.D.) came to his mother Rājī Bibī, he was placed on the throne by her exertions and those of the chief men of the Sharqi Kingdom; as has been narrated in the Sharqi section, by the gem-stringing pen. <sup>2</sup> Malik Mubārak Gung, and Malik 'Alī Gujrāti, and other amirs were sent against Muhammad Shāh, who had encamped on the bank of the Ganges, near the fort of Rājgar. When the army of Sultān Husen Khān arrived, some of the amirs, who were with Muhammad

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<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. say در کنار جهرنه ایستادند Feriahtah says از معسکر بر آمده عطف عیان کرده بفرج رفت i.e. coming out of the (i.e. Muhammad Shāh's) army, and turning their bridles, went to Kanouj. He does not say that Husen Khān summoned Jalāl Khān, but he says that the latter when he came afterwards, was taken prisoner by some amirs sent by Sultān Bahlol.

<sup>2</sup> These incidents are not mentioned by Badāoni or Feriahtah, at least in the general history.

Shāh, separated from him. Muhammad Shāh fled with a few horse-men, and went into a garden which was in that neighbourhood and he was besieged there. Verse:—

When fortune did him yet befriend,  
A steel plate was like felt before his shaft.  
When fortune no longer did him help,  
His arrow could not pierce the softest silk.

As Muhammad Shāh was a powerful archer, he took up his bow and arrows. Bibi Rāji had made matters straight with his armourer, and had removed the heads of the arrows in his quiver. All the arrows that Muhammad Shāh drew from his quiver came out of the quiver without heads. At last taking up his sword, he slew some men. Then an arrow shot by Mubārak Gung struck him in the neck, and he fell from his horse and died. Verse:—

Mother earth hath not a son that she slayeth not;  
Never lay thy heart on this son-slaying witch.  
Death on the fated day, not beggar regards, nor king;  
Empire gives not greatness, and greatness is of no use.  
Assume that all the world, from east to west is thine:

<sup>1</sup> On the day of anguish, will not death from thee it take?

After that Sultān Husen made peace with Sultān Bahlol, and they entered into an agreement that for four years both of them should be contented with his own dominions. Rāy Partāb who had before this joined Muhammad Shāh, was encouraged by Qutb Khān Afghān to join Sultān Bahlol. When Sultān Husen marching from Kanouj came to a reservoir which is called <sup>2</sup> Hariyah and encamped there, he sent for Qutb Khān Lodi from Jaunpūr and having honoured him with the gift of a horse, and a robe of honour and other favours, sent him with all honour and respect to Sultān Bahlol. The latter also made Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān happy with honours and favours, and sent him to Sultān Husen.

<sup>3</sup> After some time Sultān Bahlol marched towards Shamsābād,

<sup>1</sup> The readings of the last line are different in the different MSS. I have adopted the reading which appeared to me to be the best.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as *هريہ*, Hariyah, *هرحہ*, Harhah, *هرمہ*, Harhamah, and *هرسہ*, Harsah, in the MSS. and in the lith. edn.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah says بعد از چندگاہ کہ انقضای مدت مرود شدہ بود. i.e. after

and taking that place from Junā Khān made it over to Rāy Karan, and at that place <sup>1</sup>Narsingh Rāy, son of Rāy Partāb, came and did homage to Sultān Bahlol. Before this, Ray Partāb had taken by force a lance (which in those days, was considered to be of the status of a standard of a chief), and a kettledrum from Dariyā Khān. The latter in revenge for that put Narsingh, his son, to death with the consent of Qutb Khān. About this time <sup>2</sup>Qutb Khān son of Husen Khān Afghān, and Mubāriz Khān Behtah and Rāy Partāb united with Sultān Husen Sharqi. Sultān Bahlol did not now have the strength to meet him, and he returned to Dehli.

After a few days Sultān Bahlol marched towards Multān in order to put affairs in the Punjab into order, and to suppress the rebellion of the governor of Multān; and left Qutb Khān Lodi and the Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli as his deputies. Sultān Bahlol was yet on his way when they sent him news that Sultān Husen with a well-equipped army and elephants of mountain-like size was advancing towards Dehli. <sup>3</sup>He returned quickly and came to Dehli; and going forward to meet the enemy opposed him at Chandwār, and for seven days the armies of the two sides fought against each other. At this time Ahmad Khān Miwātī and Rustam Khān, governor of Kol, joined Sultān Husen and Tātār Khān Lodi joined Sultān Bahlol.

After this when the warfare and slaughter went on for a length of time, it was settled by the exertions of the chief men (of the two kingdoms) that for three years, the two bādshāhs should be contented with their own kingdoms, and should not engage in any further wars with each other.

After this settlement <sup>4</sup>Sultān Husen besieged Itāwah. Sultān

sometime when the term agreed upon had passed. We have seen that that term was four years.

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as نرسنگه, نرسنگ without any dots above or below the first letter and هرسنگه. Ferishtah has نرسنگه, and I have adopted that. Radāsoni does not mention the incident.

<sup>2</sup> These names are also given by Ferishtah, but he omits the suffix to Mubāriz Khān's name.

<sup>3</sup> The account given by Ferishtah agrees mainly with the account given here. He only adds that Sultān Bahlol left Qutb Khān Lodi Khān-i-Jahān in charge of affairs in the Punjab.

<sup>4</sup> Ferishtah says that Sultān Husen besieged Itāwah after the expiry of the

Bahlol came to Dehli and stayed there for three years occupying himself with the affairs of his kingdom and his army. Within this period, Sultân Bahlol marched against Âhmad Khân Miwâtî, who before this had joined Sultân Husen. When he arrived in Miwât, Khân-i-Jahân who was one of the great amirs of Sultân Husen gave hopes of favour to Âhmad Khân, and took him to Sultân Husen. About this time, Âhmad Khân, son of Yusuf Khân Jilwânî the governor of Biānah had the public prayer read in Biānah in the name of Sultân Husen.

As the period of three years had now elapsed Sultân Husen advanced towards Dehli with a <sup>1</sup> hundred thousand horsemen and one thousand elephants. Sultân Bahlol came out of Dehli and met him near the town of <sup>2</sup> Bhatwārah. Khân-i-Jahân intervened and effected a settlement. After that Sultân Husen went to Itāwah and remained there; and Sultân Bahlol went to Dehli. <sup>3</sup> After a short time Sultân Husen again attacked Sultân Bahlol. The latter came out of Dehli and near Rāysingh the two armies met and fighting went on for a few days, and at last there was peace. Sultân Husen went towards Itāwah and Sultân Bahlol returned to Dehli.

At this time Bibi Rājî the mother of Sultân Husen died at Itāwah. <sup>4</sup> Kalyân Mal, son of Ray Karn Singh Rājā of Gwāliār, and Qutb Khân Lodi, who had gone from Chandwār to Gwāliār, went to Husen Shāh.

three years; and he took Itāwah from its ruler, who was a relation of Sultân Bahlol. He also drew Âhmad Khân Miwâtî and Rustam Khân, governor of Kol, and Âhmad Khân Jilwānî to his side.

<sup>1</sup> These numbers agree with those given by Badāonî (Persian text) and Feriāhtah. Col. Ranking however reduces the number of the horsemen to ten thousand.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as منورة Matura, نهارة Nahwārah and بهنواره Bhatwārah in the different MSS. The lith. edn. has نهواره Thhawwārah. Badāonî (Persian text) has بهنواره and Col. Briggs and Col. Ranking both have Bhatwarah. Feriāhtah (Persian text) has تهراره Thhawārah.

<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Badāonî. The name of the place where the fighting took place is given in the different MSS. as رایسنگه Rāysingh, زکھر Zamkhar, and رنگھر Ranghar. The lith. edn. has راکھر Ralshkar. Feriāhtah has سنکھر, and Col. Briggs Sunkur.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonî does not mention this. Feriāhtah says that the Rājā of Gwāliār and not his son, and Qutb Khân Lodi went to Sultân Husen Sharqî to join in the mourning for the death of his mother.

As Qutb Khān found that Sultān Husen had great enmity towards Sultān Bahlol, he began to flatter him and said "Sultān Bahlol is like one of your servants. He cannot be your equal and I shall not rest till I bring Dehli into your possession." He then by various artifices took his leave of Sultān Husen, and came to Sultān Bahlol, and told him "I have freed myself from the clutches of the Sultān by deception and plotting. I found him to be very strong in his hostility to you. You should look after yourself."

At this time Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn passed away in Badāun. <sup>1</sup>Sultān Husen went there from Itāwah to join in the mourning for him, and after the mourning ceremonies, took Badāun from the son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn into his own possession. He allowed himself to act in this ungenerous way. From that place he went to Sambal, and imprisoning <sup>2</sup>Mubārak Khān son of Tātār Khān the governor of that place sent him to <sup>3</sup>Saran. He came then with a powerful army and one thousand elephants and in the month of Zi-hijjah <sup>4</sup>883 A.H. (1479 A.D.) he encamped on the bank of the Jumna, near the ford of <sup>5</sup>Kunjah. Sultān Bahlol sent Husen Khān son of Khān-i-Jahān towards Mirat; and himself came to Dehli from Sirhind. They fought with each other for a time. The Sharqi was very powerful on account of their greater number and strength. At last Qutb Khān sent a man to Sultān Husen, with a message to the effect that he was a slave of Bībi Rāji who had received many favours from her. When he was a prisoner at Jaunpūr various acts of bene-

<sup>1</sup> Badāoni says that Sultān Husen was the son-in-law of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn. He says سلطان علاؤ الدین که دختر او ملکه جهان در حبالت سلطان حسین بود در بداون در گذشت, i.e. Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn whose daughter Malkah-i-Jahān was married to Sultān Husen passed away in Badāun.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni says it was Tātār Khān who was the governor and who was imprisoned. Ferishtah gives the name of Mubārak Khān, but does not give his father Tātār Khān's name.

<sup>3</sup> Badāoni calls the place Saran. There is a variant شاران in the Persian text of Badāoni.

<sup>4</sup> Badāoni says this happened in 880 A.H., but the correct year is given in the Tabaqāt and in Ferishtah.

<sup>5</sup> All the MSS have کنجه Kunja. The lith. edn. has کهنه which means old. Badāoni has کبچه Kichah but another MS. has گنجینه Ganjīnah. Ferishtah has کچه Kachha.

ficence had been done towards him by that chaste lady. Now it was advisable that Sultān Husen should conclude peace and return to Jaunpūr; and the territory on the other side of the Ganges should belong to him, while all that was on this side should be left to Sultān Bahlol. The two parties agreed to this and the disputes ended. Sultān Husen trusting to the treaty started, leaving his equipage behind. Sultān Bahlol seizing the opportunity pursued him and plundered a part of the equipage of Sultān Husen, and a quantity of treasure and much chattel which had been loaded on horses and elephants fell into his hands. About forty famous amirs belonging to Sultān Husen's army, such as <sup>1</sup> Qutlugh Khān, Vazīr, who was the most learned of the learned men of his own time and <sup>2</sup> Būdhū the pay-master of the forces and others like these were taken prisoners. Qutlugh Khān was placed in chains under the charge of Qutb Khān Lodi and Sultān Bahlol went in pursuit (of Sultān Husen), and took possession of some parganas belonging to the latter, viz. <sup>3</sup> Qasbā-i-Kambal and Patiālī, and Shamsābād and Saket, and Kol, and Mārharah and Jalālī and appointed an officer in charge of each. As the pursuit went beyond limit, Sultān Husen turned back at a village called <sup>4</sup> Ārām Mahjūr one of the depend-

<sup>1</sup> His name according to Badāonī was Qāzi Samā-ud-dīn. Ferishtah calls him قتل خان وزیر که از علمای وقت بود.

<sup>2</sup> This name is variously given in the MSS. as اوسنو Austū, اودھو Audhu, and اوسو Ausu. The lith. edn. has اوتھو Autehū. Badāonī has not got the name. Ferishtah has ملک بدھو Malik Budhu. I have adopted بدھو as it may easily be changed to اودھو by writing the ا as ب.

<sup>3</sup> Badāonī says he himself pursued him as far as Shamsābād in the Doab, which had been in the possession of Sultān Husen, and took possession of that country, and appointed his own officers. Ferishtah names the parganahs of which he took possession. He gives the first four and the sixth names as in the text. He has omitted Kol and for Jalālī he has Jalesar. As all the MSS. and the lith. edn. have Jalālī, I have retained it.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this place is given as آرام Ārām in some of the MSS.; in one it is مهجور آرام Ārām Mahjūr, in another, آرام لاهجو Ārām Lahju. The lith. edn. has آرام بخرو which may be Ārām Bakho or Ārām Najo. Badāonī does not give the name. He says the battle took place در نواحی راپری, in the vicinity of Rāpri. Ferishtah has رام پنجرہ Rām Punjrah. Col. Briggs has Rampinjim.



encies of Rāpri and gave battle; but at last an amicable settlement was made, on the condition that the two Sultāns should remain contented with their own territories and the ancient boundaries. After the conclusion of peace Sultān Husen went to Rāpri and Sultān Bahlol came to <sup>1</sup> Dhobāmau.

After some time Sultān Husen again collected a large force and came to attack Sultān Bahlol, and there was a fierce battle in the vicinity of <sup>2</sup> Sonhār, and Sultān Husen was again defeated. Quatrain:

If fortune's dull what profits a mighty bow  
With fortune, the arrow strikes home, in the battle line.  
Many brave-hearted warriors, when fortune was low,  
Were worsted in war by a pusillanimous foe.

An inestimable quantity of wealth fell into the hands of the Lodis, and became the cause of a great increase in the strength and splendour of Sultān Bahlol. Sultān Husen again went to Rāpri; and Sultān Bahlol encamped near Dhobāmau. At this time the news of the death of Khān-i-Jahān who was at Dehli reached Sultān Bahlol. The Sultān conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān on his son, and confirmed him in his father's position. From that place he went to Rāpri and attacked Sultān Husen; and after battle and slaughter he was distinguished by victory and triumph. In the course of the flight and the crossing of the river Jumna, some sons and other members of the family of Sultān Husen were drowned in the sea of destruction.

Sultān Husen then proceeded towards Gwālīār. In the neighbourhood of <sup>3</sup> Hatkant a band of Bhadwariāhs, attacked and plundered

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have دھوبامو Dhobāmau, and the others have دھوپا Dhoyā and دھونا Dumonā. The lith. edn. has هریامو Harpāmau. The Persian text of Badāonī does not say where Sultān Bahlol stayed; but it appears from a note in the English translation that two MSS. say that he stayed at Dhobāmau. Ferishta says that it was settled that mouzah Dhobāmau should be the boundary, that Sultān Husen went to Rāpri and Sultān Bahlol returned to Dehli.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. and Badāonī have Sonhār. Ferishta (lith. edn.) has سہارن Sahāran and Col. Briggs has Sirsar.

<sup>3</sup> Hatkant is said by Abul Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadwār, a district to the south-east of Agra. Its inhabitants were called Bhadwariāhs. They were known as daring robbers, and though so near the capital, managed

his camp. When, however, he reached Gwālār <sup>1</sup>Rāy Kīrat Singh, Rāja of Gwālār, came and offered his submission and behaved like a servant towards him. He offered as tribute some lakhs of *tanqahs*, in cash, and some tents and pavilions, and some horses and elephants and camels; and placing himself in the band of his well-wishers, and sending an army to accompany him, <sup>2</sup>came with him as a dependant as far as Kālpi. While these things were happening, Sultān Bahlol, went and <sup>3</sup>attacked Itāwah. Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Sultān Husen and Haibat Khan *alias* Malik Karkar shut themselves up and fought for three days, but at last asked for quarter, and surrendered Itāwah. Sultān Bahlol placed it in charge of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Mubārak Khān <sup>4</sup>Lohānī. He conferred several parganahs belonging to the territory of Itāwah on Rāy <sup>5</sup>Dāud as his remuneration and went with a large force to attack Sultān Husen. When he arrived in the village of Rākānau, one of the dependencies of Kālpi, Sultān Husen advanced from Kālpi to meet him, and they passed several months in skirmishes. At this time Rāy Tilok Chand, ruler of the territory of <sup>6</sup>Baksar, came to Sultān Bahlol, and took him to a place

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to maintain their independence, till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant. Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) 1488; Elliot, *Races of N.W.P.* vol. 1, p. 25 (quoted from note 1, p. 408, of Col. Ranking's translation of the *Muntakhabat-ut-tawārīkh*).

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī calls him گوالیار حاکم راجا. Ferishta does not give his name but calls him the Rāja of Gwālār. Kīrat Sing is of course incorrect. Kīrat Singh is a good variant of Sans. किराट सिंह.

<sup>2</sup> Both our author and Badāonī says مقابعت کرد. Ferishta has مقابعت نمود. Col. Ranking thinks that مشابعت is perhaps better than مقابعت. I think مقابعت is quite good.

<sup>3</sup> This attack on Itāwah is not mentioned by Badāonī. Ferishta mentions it, and gives the names of Ibrāhīm Khān and Haibat Khān. He gives the alias of the latter as Karkar without the Malik.

<sup>4</sup> Several MSS. and the lith. edn. have this word as نرواحانی Nūhānī.

<sup>5</sup> This name is given as داند, Dānd, داندو, Dāndū, and, داندوہ Dāndwāh. Ferishta has داندوہ Dāndwāh. Col. Briggs omits the passage.

<sup>6</sup> Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges, 34 miles south-east of Unā town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre at Cawnpur in 1857; see Hunter Imp. Gaz. p. 450. Ferishta has کتھر Khatehar or Rohil-khand, in place of Baksar.

where there was a ford, where he crossed the river. Sultān Husen being unable to meet him retired into the territory of <sup>1</sup> Bihtah :

Verses : The tiger, that has felt the blow of a lion's paw,  
Would not a second time in front of it stand ;  
The hawk that from a falcon's claws its prey has drawn  
After that on the hunting field thinks it a pigeon poor.

The Rājā of Bihtah came forward to meet him treated him with humane consideration, and offered him a tribute of some lakhs of *tanqahs*, and some horses and elephants, and sending some troops with him, attended him to Jaunpūr.

After that Sultān Bahlol again raised the standard of determination, and turned to Jaunpūr. When he arrived near it, Sultān Husen abandoned the place ; and retired to Kanouj by the way of Bahraich. Sultān Bahlol also moved towards Kanouj ; and they met on the bank of the Rahab. In the battle, a defeat which had now become almost natural to Sultān Husen fell on him, and his regalia and paraphernalia of empire fell into the hands of the Lodis. His honoured wife <sup>2</sup> Bibi Khunza, who was the daughter of Sultān 'Ala-ud-din, the <sup>3</sup> grandson of Khizr Khān was also taken prisoner. Sultān Bahlol protected her with great honour and consideration ; and after some time when he again went to conquer the kingdom of Jaunpūr Bibi Khunza managed, by some stratagem, to obtain her release, and returned to her husband. On this occasion, Sultān Bahlol seized Jaunpūr and gave it to Mubārak Khān Lohānī ; and leaving some

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have **بيته** Bihtah. Badāsonī has **بيته** Bhatta as Col. Ranking transliterates it. It may, however, also be Bihta. Feriāhtah has **تيته**, Thathah, which Col. Ranking thinks is correct, and has adopted. I think Bihtah more probable. There is a Bithur near Cawnpur where the Nānā Shāhib used to live. This may be the place.

<sup>2</sup> She is called **خونزا** in several MSS. and **جوترا** in others. Badāsonī has **خونزا** in the text though the MSS. read **خوت را** and **خوترا** which come to the same thing. Feriāhtah has **خونزا** which Col. Briggs and Col. Ranking have adopted. Is she the same as Malkah-i-Jahān (see note 1, p. 348).

<sup>3</sup> Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn was really the great grandson of Khizr Khān. He was the son of Muhammad Shāh who was the son of Mubārak Shāh (or of Farid Khān) who was a son of Khizr Khān. Bibi Khunza was therefore the daughter of the great grand-son of Khizr Khān and cannot be called the grand-daughter of the latter, as Col. Ranking has called her.

other amirs, such as Qutb Khān Lodi and Khān-i-Jahān and others like them in the town of <sup>1</sup>Majhault, marched towards Badāūn. Sultān Husen, finding it a fit opportunity, came with a great force to Jaunpūr; and the amirs of Sultān Bahlol, abandoning Jaunpūr, went to Qutb Khān in Majhault, but they did not stop there also, and going to Sultān Husen in the way of sincerity, spoke words expressive of goodwill towards him and passed the time with courtesy and gentleness till the arrival of reinforcements. Sultān Bahlol became aware of the discomfiture of his troops that were with Qutb Khān Lodi, sent Bārbak Shāh, his son, to their assistance and himself also went towards Jaunpūr behind him. Sultān Husen, being unable to oppose him, retired to Behār.

When Sultān Bahlol reached the town of Haldī, he heard the news of the death of Qutb Khān Lodi. He spent some days in performing the rites of mourning, and then went to Jaunpūr. There he placed Bārbak Shāh on the throne of the Sharqī Kingdom, left him there. He then marched to Kālpi and made over that territory to <sup>2</sup>Ā'zam Humāyūn, the son of Shāhzādah Khwājah Bāyezīd. Then he went to Dholpūr by way of Chandwār. The Rāy of Dholpūr, came forward to welcome him, and offered some *mans* of gold as tribute, and became one of his well-wishers. When Sultān Bahlol came near parganah <sup>3</sup>Bārī, Iqbāl Khān, the ruler of that place performed the rites of service and was enrolled in the class of his servants. He also offered some *mans* of gold as tribute and Bārī was confirmed to him. From that place Sultān Bahlol

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have مَجْهَوْلِي Majhoulī, and third has مَجْهَوْلِي Majhault in one place, but مَجْهَوْلِي in the other; another has مَجْهَوْلِي Majhoulī. The lith. edn. has مَحْمُوتِي Mahmutī. Badāoni has مَجْهَوْلِي Majhault. Ferishta has, according to Col. Ranking مَجْهَوْلِي, but in the lith. edn. of Ferishta which I have the place is called مَجْهَوْلِي, Majhault. There is a village called Majhault in the Gorakhpur district on the bank of the Gandak. Hunter's Imp. Gaz. IX, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni describes 'Ā'zam Humāyūn as خواجه بایزید برادر زاده دیگر که نام داشت which Col. Ranking translates quite correctly as another nephew who had the name of Bāyezīd, but Badāoni is of course wrong. Both in the Tabaqāt and in Ferishta 'Ā'zam Humāyūn's correct relationship to Sultān Bahlol is given, and this has been pointed out by Col. Ranking in a note.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishta does not mention either Bārī or its ruler Iqbāl Khān, and Badāoni only says that Sultān Bahlol passed through it.

went to <sup>1</sup>Alhanpur, one of the dependencies of Ranthhambore and he plundered the territory of Alhanpur and laid waste the orchards and cultivated land in it and then came to Dehli.

And after a few days there, he went to Hisār Firozah, and stayed there for some months, and then again came to Dehli. After some time, he started towards Gwāliār. Rājā Mān, the ruler of Gwāliār, submitted to him, and offered eighty *lakhs* of *tanghas* as tribute. He confirmed Rājā Mān in the territory. From that place the Sultān went to Itāwah, and taking away that territory from <sup>2</sup>Sakat Singh, son of Rāy Dando, returned. On the way he became ill and died near Mouzah <sup>3</sup>Tilāwali one of the dependencies of parganah Saket in the year 894 A.H. (4188 A.D.). The period of his reign was thirty eight years and eight months and eight days.

Verse: Whether it is Afrāsīāb or the <sup>4</sup>son of Zāl,  
He will meet with punishment, at the hand of fate;  
To the cup which the cup-bearer has measured.  
It is not in human power to add a drop.

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have الهنپور, Alhanpūr quite distinctly, another has اسنپور, which may be read as Alhanpūr or Ashanpūr. Another has اسنپور which is apparently a mistake. The lith. edn. has النپور Alanpūr which is almost the same as Alhanpūr. One MS. and the Persian text of Badāonī have Alhanpūr. Col. Ranking has however followed Ferishtah and adopted Ilāshipūr. The lith. edn. of Ferishtah which I have seen has اله پور Ilahpur.

<sup>2</sup> He is not mentioned by Badāonī. Ferishtah has Saket Singh but as most of the MSS. and the lith. edn. has سکت سنگه Sakat Singh, I have retained it. Besides Sakat Singh or सकतसिंह has a meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Two MSS. have تلاولی Tilāwali, one has تلاولی or تلاولی Tilāwali or Bilāwali and one has ملاوله malāwah. The lith. edn. has تلاولی Bilāwali. Badāonī does not give the name of the place. Ferishtah as بهدوالی Bhadwālī, Col. Ranking has adopted Bhadāulī from the text of Ferishtah which he has seen. He also says in a note "that Sakit is in the Etah district of the N.W. Provinces and it is here according to Hunter (Imp. Gaz. XII. 146) that Bahīlū Lodi died. Abul Fāzī says that he died near the township of Sakath, but places Bhadawālī in the Sarkār of Sāhār in the Agra Subah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Kanauj (see Āin-i-Akbarī, Jarrett. II 309 p. 3). I have preferred to keep Tilāwali.

<sup>4</sup> The same verses are to be found in Badāonī, but there is a most curious mistake in Col. Ranking's translation of the first line which is 'whether it be Afrāsīāb or his son Zāl', according to which Zāl instead of being father of Rustam, the Persian Champion (زال پور son of Zāl, is of course Rustam) is converted into the son of Afrāsīāb.

Whether it is the king, or a seller of <sup>1</sup> grass.  
The angel to his ear, the sound of death will bring.

And they have written this quatrain to record the date of his death. Quatrain :

In eight hundred ninety-four departed from the world,  
Bahlol the King, that conquered countries and the world.  
With his sword, he conquered the earth, but the angel of death.  
'T was impossible to defy with sword and dagger bright.

#### SULTÂN SIKANDAR SON OF SULTÂN BAHLOL LODI.

When Sultân Bahlol entrusted the deposit of life to the holder of souls, <sup>2</sup>Shāhzādah Nizām Khān was in Dehli. Exceeding the wind in quick motion, he went to the town of Jalālī, with the hearse of Sultân Bahlol and sending the corpse of the latter to Dehli placed himself on the throne of sovereignty, on an eminence on the bank of the Ab Siah (i.e. the black river or the Kālī Nadi) which is called the palace of Sultân Firoz near the town of Jalālī, on Friday, the 17th of Sha'bān in the year 894 A.H. (1488 A.D.) with the consent of Khān-i-Jahān, Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, and all his father's amīrs, and assumed the title of Sultân Sikandar. Verse :

When the moon hid her face behind the veil of blue,  
The sun above the horizon raised his face.  
The Jasmine dropped but the <sup>3</sup>pomegranate bloomed ;  
Each blossom in the garden opens in its turn.

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<sup>1</sup> The word actually used is *خس نریش*, the seller of *khās*, which is a kind of fragrant grass, *andropogon muricatum*, of which screens are made, which are, hung before doors and kept wet with water for cooling rooms, in the hot season, by the air which passes through them. These screens are commonly called *khās khas tattis*.

<sup>2</sup> There was considerable opposition to the accession of Nizām Khān or Sultân Sikandar owing to his mother having been a goldsmith's daughter, but Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī espoused his cause (see Briggs's *Ferishtah* and Col. Ranking's translation of Badā'uni, p. 412, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> The Persian word is *انغور*. I cannot find out what it is. The dictionary says it is a tree with a red flower and a red fruit.

being defeated went to Badāūn. The Sultān pursued and besieged him. Bārbak Shāh then made his submission with great humility. The Sultān shewed him favour and made his heart glad, and took him with himself to Jaunpūr and placed him, as before, on the Sharqī throne, but he divided the parganahs appertaining to the kingdom among his own Amīrs, and <sup>1</sup> everywhere left his own officers and employed trustworthy men in his service.

From that place he went to Kotlah and Kālpi and taking away Kālpi from Ā'zam Humāyūn son of Shāhzādah Khwājah Bāyezīd, allotted it to Muhammad Khān Lodī. From there he went to <sup>2</sup> Jathra. Tātār Khān the governor of Jathra performed the duties of allegiance and fealty, and the government of the place was confirmed to him. He then moved towards the fort of Gwālīār; and sent Khwājah Muhammad Farmulī with a special robe of honour to Rajā Mān of that place. The latter also behaving with humility sent his nephew to attend on the Sultān, with direction to accompany him as far as Biānah. Sultān <sup>3</sup> Sharf, governor of Biānah, son of Sultān Āhmad Jīlwānī also came forward to offer homage. The

which he was treated by Sultān Sikandar when he was taken prisoner, and his gratitude towards the Sultān in consequence. Ferishta also mentions the incident.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the passage is not quite clear. The readings vary slightly. One MS. leaves out گماشت او معتمدان گماشت, and several leave out the word او after خدمت. The corresponding passage in Badāonī is اما برگزانت ولایت را با امرای خود تقسیم نموده هر جا افواج بر گماشت, and from which it will be seen that according to Badāonī, he left detachments of troops and not officers. The difficulty as regards the passage in the text consists in the word از; either خود or حکام از طرف خود would have been clearer; and also in the word او. Who is referred to? If it is the حکام then the proper pronoun would be ایشان. Col. Ranking thinks that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 356, note 3. Col. Ranking has adopted Jahtara from Ferishta, but says he has failed to locate it.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as اشرف or شرف in the MSS. and the lith. edn. The text of Badāonī reads سلطان الشرق. MSS. A and B read سلطان لشرق. Ferishta has سلطان شرف. Col. Ranking has adopted سلطان شرق in one place and a few lines later on, سلطان شرف.

Sultân ordered him to give up Biānah, so that in exchange for it Jalesar, and Chandwār, and Mārharah, and Saketh might be conferred on him. Sultân Sharf took 'Umar Khān <sup>1</sup>Sharwānī with him to Biānah, so that he might make over the keys of the fort to him. When he came to Biānah, however, he broke his promise, and strengthened the fort. Sultân Sikandar came to Agra. Haibat Khān Jilwānī who was one of the retainers of Sultân Sharf shut himself up in the fort of Agra. The Sultân left some Amīrs to continue the siege of Agra, and himself went again to Biānah, and made very great efforts in besieging it. When Sultân Sharf was reduced to great straits, he humbly prayed for quarter. And in the year 897 A.H. (1491 A.D.); Biānah was taken; and the territory was allotted to Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī. Sultân Sharf was expelled from the place, and went to Gwāliār. The Sultân returned to Dehli and remained there for twenty-four days.

At this time news came, that the Zamīndārs of the territory of Jaunpūr, and <sup>2</sup>Bachgotis, and other men numbering about a lakh of foot-soldiers and horsemen had collected together, and Shīr Khān brother of <sup>3</sup>Mubārak Khān had attained to martyrdom (i.e. had been killed by them); and Mubārak Khān also, when he was crossing at the ferry of <sup>4</sup>Josī Prāk, which is at the place, where the city of <sup>5</sup>Ilhābād (Allāhābād) has now been established, and is one of the cities founded by Hazrat Khalifa-i-Ilāhī (the emperor Akbar).

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have سروانی Sarwānī but I have adopted شروانی Sharwānī following the remaining MS., as that is the name of the tribe as given in previous passages.

<sup>2</sup> A tribe of Rajputs said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chauhāns notorious for their turbulence, originally Muhammadans (see Elliot, *Races of N.-W.P.*, p. 47). It appears from the *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* (Elliot IV, p. 457), that they were led by a Hindu named Jūgā.

<sup>3</sup> Mubārak Khān Lohānī governor of Karra.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Prāk is a corruption of Prayāg the Hindu name for Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. Ferishtah has پرسنی پیل. I find that there is a place in Allahabad, which is now known as Jhunsi, which probably is identical with the Josī in the text. Bādsani a few lines later has بیاک in the text, and بیاک and بیاک in the two MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Written in some MSS. as الہا یلسی Ilhāyās.





presence, the Sultân placed him in charge of Haibat Khân, and 'Umar Khân Sharwânî. The Sultân then marched towards the fort of <sup>1</sup>Chunâr from the vicinity of Jaunpûr. Some Amirs of Sultân Husen Sharqî, who were there, gave battle, but were defeated and shut themselves up in the fort. As the fort was strong, the Sultân did not besiege it, but marched towards <sup>2</sup>Kantat, one of the dependencies of Patna. Rājā Bhîd, the Rājā of the place advanced to welcome him, and did homage. The Sultân confirmed him in the possession of Kantat and went away towards <sup>3</sup>Aril. In the meantime Rājy Bhîd became suspicious, and abandoning his equipage and regalia fled towards Patna. The Sultân sent all his property and equipage to him.

When the Sultân arrived at Aril, he stretched out his hands for plunder and laid waste and destroyed orchards and gardens and buildings; and proceeded to Dalmau by way of Karra; and marrying the nikāh wife of Shîr Khân, the brother of Mubarak Khân Lohānî, came to Shamsābād, and staying there for six months, went to Sambal; and again from Sambal, turned towards Shamsābād. On the way he plundered and slew the inhabitants of the town of <sup>4</sup>Madmaunākāl which was the abode and the place of shelter of

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. except one, which has *جناړه* Junārah, have *جناړ* or *چنار* Junār or Chunār. The lith. edn. has *چنار* Chunār. Badāoni has *جنهار* Junhār, *چنار* (?) and *چنار*. Ferishtah has *چنار*. Col. Ranking transliterates *چنار* as Chinār and not Chunār, as I think he should have done.

<sup>2</sup> The name of this place is given as *کنٹت* Kantat, *کست* Kustat and *کبیلو* Khilfi in the MSS. The lith. edn. has *کنٹت* Kantanat. Badāoni does not mention the place. Ferishtah has *Katanba*. Kantat is on the S.W. bank of the Ganges in the Sarkār of Allahabad. See *Am-i-Akbari* (Jarett), II, 89; 158.

<sup>3</sup> Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have *اریل* Aril or Arial, one leaves out the name and one leaves out a whole line where the name would have occurred. Badāoni has *اریل*, but a footnote has a variant *ارکل*. Ferishtah has *اریل*. Arail is mentioned by Abūl Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbari* (B.) I, 423. "He held Jhoi and Arail (or Jalālābād) as Jaigir." Jhoi is apparently identical with Jui (see note, 4, p. 359).

<sup>4</sup> The name of this place is given as *مدنر ناکل*, *مدیر ناکل*, *مدیر باکلی*, *مدیر قریہ* (where the *دیر* and the *قریہ* have apparently got transposed) in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Badāoni does not mention the place at all. Ferishtah has *مدیر ناری*

rebels and turbulent men. The latter fled to Vazirābād. The people of Vazirābād were also slain and taken prisoners; and the Sultān then came to Shamsābād and spent the rainy season there.

In the year 900 H. (1494 A.D.) the Sultān started towards the country of Patna with the object of chastising <sup>1</sup>Rājā Bhd; and on the way the villages of rebels were laid waste, and the inhabitants were slain or taken prisoners. When he arrived at <sup>2</sup>Khāran Ghāti he had a battle there with <sup>3</sup>Narsingh the son of the Rājā of Patna. Narsingh was defeated and abandoning Ghāti, fled towards Patna. When the Sultān arrived at Patna, the Rājā fled towards <sup>4</sup>Sarkanjah (Sargujah ?) but died on the way. The Sultān moved from Sarkanjah towards <sup>5</sup>Saund one of the dependencies of Patna. When he arrived opium, and <sup>6</sup>Koknār, and salt, and oil, became extremely

Deotārī, in the lith. edn., and Col. Briggs has Deonarry. Badāonī omits all mention of these incidents. Ferishtah follows our author.

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī says *بمزمیت گوشمال متعمردان ولایت ندنه روانه شد*, i.e. he started with the intention of chastising the rebels of the country of Patna, but does not mention any Rājā; Ferishtah calls the Rājā Rāy Balbhadar.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have *کهارن کھانی* Khāran Kh(or Gh)āti and *کهارن لہالی* Khāran Lhālī. Badāonī does not mention the place. He only says that the Sultan after staying and taking prisoner a great many in the districts of Patna went to Jaunpūr. Ferishtah, lith. text, calls the place *کھارن و کمانی*, but Col. Briggs does not mention the place where the Sultān halted, but he calls the place where Narsingh was defeated Hundia Ghat. The place is called Khān Ghāti in the trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. V, p. 94).

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have *نرسنگه* Narsingh and *برسنگه* Barsingh. Badāonī as already mentioned in note 4, p. 361 passes over the incidents. Ferishtah has Narsingh. He is called Bīr Singh Deo in the trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. V, p. 94).

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. have *سرکچہ* and *سرکچہ*, the first may be anything, the second in Sarkanjah. Ferishtah has *سرکچہ* Sarkachh. Col. Briggs has Surgooja.

<sup>5</sup> The MSS. have *سوند* Saund, and *سہدوار* Sahdwar. Ferishtah has *سہدو* Sahdeo. Col. Briggs has Suhsdwar. The trans. of the Tār-i-Khān Jahān Lodi (Ell. V, p. 95) has Phāphūnd and it is said in a note that there is a Phāphūnd in the Doab, but this Phāphūnd (if that is the correct name) must be some other wild district in the Bundelkhund hills. The lith. edn. has *سندہ*.

<sup>6</sup> I cannot find the Eng. equivalent for *Koknār*. The dictionary says that

dear. The Sultân went from there to Jaunpūr. The horses, which during the journey to Patna had been worked very hard, died in large numbers; so much so that, one who had a hundred horses in the army lost ninety of them.

Rāy Lakhmi Chand, son of Rāy Bhīd, and all the Zamīndārs wrote to Sultân Husen that there were no horses left in the army of Sultân Sikandar, and provisions were scarce; it was a very great opportunity. Sultân Husen collected his forces, and came with a hundred elephants from Behar to attack Sultân Sikandar. The latter crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantat and came to Chunār and thence to Benares; and sent the Khān-i-Khānān to <sup>1</sup> Sālbāhan, son of Rāy Bhīd, to bring him in with promises of favours. At that time, the army of Sultân Husen was eighteen *karohs* from Benares. Sultân Sikandar marched with great rapidity against Sultân Husen. On the way Sālbāhan came to attend on him. After skirmishes, a regular battle was fought, and Sultân Husen being routed went to the country of Patna. The Sultân, leaving his camp behind, pursued Sultân Husen with one lakh (light) cavalry, and on the way he was informed that Sultân Husen had gone to Behar. After nine days the Sultân returned, joined his camp and turned towards Behar. Sultân Husen, left <sup>2</sup> Malik Kandu in the citadel of Behar and went to Khul-Ganon, a dependency of Lakhnautt. Sultân Sikandar sent from his camp at <sup>3</sup> Deobar an army to attack Malik Kandu. The latter fled, and Behar fell into the hands of Sikandar's officers.

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after the opium has flowed from the poppy the heads are bruised and boiled and the oil thus obtained is called *Koknār*. It has a strong inebriating effect.

<sup>1</sup> It is curious that one son of Rāja Bhīd should be on the side of Sultân Husen and another on the side of Sultân Sikandar. Badāoni calls Sālbāhan, راجہ پنہ کہ زمین دار معتبر بود, i.e., the Rāja of Patna, who was a trustworthy and well-to-do Zamindar. Ferishtah calls him پسر رای بہند.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. call him ملک کندو. Badāoni does not give any name, but says Sultân Husen left his deputy at Behar. Ferishtah has in the lith. edn. ملک کہندو. Malik Khandu. According to a note in Col. Ranking's translation of Badāoni another text of Ferishtah has Malik Kandhū.

<sup>3</sup> The name is given as دیوبار. Deobār, or دیومار Deomār in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has دیوبار Deobār.

The Sultân left Muhabbat Khân with some other Amīrs at Behar, and went to Darveshpūr, and, having Khân-i-Khānān and Khân-i-Jahān in charge of the camp and the equipage, marched towards Tīrhut. The Rāy of Tīrhut advanced to welcome him and offered his allegiance. The Sultân fixed a certain number of lakhs of *tangahs* as tribute to be paid by him, and leaving Mubārak Khân Lohānī to collect it, again returned to his camp at Darveshpūr.

On the 16th of Shawwāl 901 H. (1495 A.D.) Khân-i-Jahān died. The Sultân honoured his eldest son Ahmad Khân with the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn. After that he went on a pilgrimage to the tomb of <sup>1</sup>Shaikh Sharf Muniri (may God sanctify his resting place) at Behar; he made the Faqīrs and the poor of the place happy; and then came back to Darveshpūr. From that place he advanced against Sultân 'Alāud-din Bādshāh of Bangālāh. When he arrived at <sup>2</sup>Tughlaqpūr, one of the dependencies of Behar, Sultân 'Ala-ud-din sent his son Dāniāl to meet him. Sultân Sikandar sent Mahmūd Khān Lodi and Mubārak Khān Lohānī from his side to oppose him. The two armies came into contact at Mouzah Bārah; and terms of an agreement were proposed, and it was settled that Sultân Sikandar should not trespass into Sultân 'Ala-ud-din's kingdom, and in the same way the latter should not in any way interfere with Sultân Sikandar's dominions, and should not give shelter to his enemies. After the settlement, Mahmūd Khān and Mubārak Khān Lohānī returned; and Mubārak Khān died in the town of Patnā, one of the dependencies of Behar. Sultân Sikandar went from Tughlaqpūr to Darveshpūr and stayed there for some months. That territory was given to Ā'zam Humāyūn, and Dariyā Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, received the province of Behar.

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. all call him by the name in the text with some erroneous variations in the word منیری in two of the MSS. Badsoni gives him the high sounding name of قطب المشايخ شرف الدين يحيى منیری. He was the son of Yahiya-bin-Isrā'īl, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shakar. His burial place is in Behar, see Ā'in-i-Akbari (g) iii 370.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have Tughlaqpūr. One MS. and Ferishtah has Qutlaqhpur. One MS. has omitted a part of the sentence containing the name. Badsoni does not name the place but says Dāniāl came to meet him در نواحی بهار, in the neighbourhood of Behar.

During this year, there was scarcity of grain, and for the welfare of the people (the Sultān) remitted the collection of an <sup>1</sup>alms rate in grain in the whole of his dominions, and *farmāns* were issued prohibiting the levying of the alms rate, and from that day, the collection of alms rates in grain was abolished.

At this time the Sultān came to the town of Sāran, and taking some parganaḥs, in the vicinity of the town from the possession of the Zamindārs, granted them in *jāigār* to his own men. From Sāran he came by way of <sup>2</sup>Mahligarh to Jaunpūr, and after staying there for six months marched towards <sup>3</sup>Patna or Panna. It is related that the Sultān had asked for one of his <sup>4</sup>daughters from Rāy Sālbāhan, Rāy of Patna; and he refused the request. The Sultān, to take his revenge, marched towards Patna in the year 904 H. (1498 A.D.); and when he arrived there, he stretched out his hand for pillage, and did not leave a sign of cultivation. When he arrived at the fort of <sup>5</sup>Bāndhūgarh, which was the strongest fort of

<sup>1</sup> The actual words used both in the *Tabaqāt* and in *Badāʿunī* and *Ferishtah* are *الزكاة*; *زكاة* means alms, for which all true Musalmāns are enjoined to give a certain percentage on all kinds of their annual incomes. I suppose the collection of the *الزكاة* was something like the levy of a poor rate in grain which the Sultān used for the relief of the poor. I consider that Col. Ranking is not quite correct in calling it the customary tribute in grain; and Col. Briggs quite wrong in calling it the transit customs on grain.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have Mahligarh with some slight variations. *Badāʿunī* also has Mahligarh. *Ferishtah* has Machhligarh.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to make out the correct name from the MSS. and the lith. edn. Col. Ranking says that one MS. of *Badāʿunī* has *پٹنا* Panna but the text and the other MSS. have *پٹنہ* Patna. *Ferishtah* has *پٹنہ* Pathnah. Briggs in his transl. has Panna, and Col. Ranking thinks that he must be correct, from the mention of Mādhogarh or Bāndhūgarh, which he says was one of the two chief fortresses in the province of Bāndhu which corresponds nearly with the State of Rewa, distant about 70 miles S. E. from Panna. It may be mentioned that according to the trans. of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* (Ell. v, p. 93) Rāy Bhīd and his son Sālbāhan, whom Col. Ranking and I have called Rājās of Patna, were Rājās of Panna.

<sup>4</sup> The demand of Sālbāhan's daughter is not mentioned by *Badāʿunī*, but is mentioned by *Ferishtah*.

<sup>5</sup> Various given as *باندھوگرہ* Bāndhūgarh, *مادھوگرہ* Mādhogarh and *مادوگرہ* Mādugarh (see note 3 above).

that country and the place of residence of its ruler, bold warriors performed deeds of bravery, but on account of the strength of the fort, the Sultân went away from there to Jaunpūr; and staying there for a few days, occupied himself with affairs of State. In the course of his inquiries the accounts of <sup>1</sup> Mubārak Khān Mūjikhail Lodi, who had been placed in charge of Jaunpūr at the time when Bārbak Shāh was imprisoned, came under inspection; and although Mubārak Khān tried by various devices to get them passed, and got several Khāns to intercede for him, it was of no avail, and orders were passed that the collections of some years, according to the settlement of the Sultân, should be realized from him.

It so happened that at this time the Sultân was (one day) playing <sup>2</sup> *chaugān*. In the course of the play the <sup>3</sup> stick of Suleimān son of Dariyā Khān Sarwāni, having hit the stick of Haibat Khān, Suleimān's head was broken, and between them an altercation took place on this account, and became the cause of displeasure. Khizr, brother of Suleimān, in order to avenge his brother, intentionally hit Haibat Khān on the head, with a stick, and there was noise and turmoil. Mahmūd Khān and the Khān-i-Khānān took Haibat Khān to his house after comforting him; and the Sultân left the field and went into his palace. After four days he again mounted his horse for playing *chaugān*. On the road Shams Khān Nāmī, a relation of Haibat Khān, was standing full of wrath, as he saw Khizr, the brother of Suleimān, he at once smote the latter on the head with his *chaugān*; and by order of the Sultân, Shams Khān received many kicks. The Sultân turned back and went into the palace.

After this, he became suspicious of some of the Amīrs, and appointed some others whom he knew to be loyal and devoted to him to be his bodyguard, and these Amīrs guarded him every night after

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<sup>1</sup> This is also not mentioned by Badāonī but is mentioned by Ferishtah who however calls Mubārak Khān, Mubārak Khān Mūjī; and adds that this became the cause of the displeasure of the Āfghān Amīrs.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Ranking says that it is called *سولجان* *Sauljān* in Arabic. It is the original and oriental form of the game of polo.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Briggs calls it the bat. The incidents are mentioned very briefly by Badāonī. Ferishtah gives a detailed account which agrees generally with that given by our author.

arming themselves. At this time, some (Amirs) acted with deceit and treachery. Twenty-two of the Sardârs conspired together, and incited Shâhzâdah Fateh Khân, son of Sultân Bahlol, to make an attempt for the throne; and after oaths and engagements tried to create a disturbance and revolt. The Shâhzâdah divulged the matters to <sup>1</sup> Sheikh Tâhir and to his own mother; and mentioned the names of the conspirators. The Sheikh and the Shâhzâdah's mother counselled him and it was settled that he should state everything to Sultân Sikandar, and thus cleanse his skirts from the stain of rebellion. He did so and the Sultân becoming cognisant of the treason and disloyalty of that band, with the advice of his ministers, in order to put down the revolt dispersed every one of them to a different place.

After that in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D.), the Sultân went to Sambal and stayed there for four years attending to affairs of State and living in happiness and luxury. He spent the greater part of his time in playing *chaugân* and in hunting.

At this time the Sultân received information of the evil deeds and malpractices of Asghar, governor of Dehli, and sent orders to Khawâs Khân, the governor of <sup>2</sup> Machhiwârah, that he should seize Asghar and send him to the Sultân's presence. Khawâs Khân in compliance with the order started towards Dehli; but before he could arrive there, Asghar came out of the fort (of Dehli) on the night of <sup>3</sup> Saturday in the month of Safar 906 (1500 A.D.), went to the pre-

<sup>1</sup> He is called Sheikh Tâhir by Badâoni and Sheikh Tâhir Kâbuli by Ferishtah, but he is called Sheikh Tâhâ in the trans. of the Târ-i-Daûdi (Ell. IV, p. 464).

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have *ماچھیوارہ* Machhiwârah except one which has *محوارہ* Majwârah; the lith. edition has *ماچھیوارہ* Machhwara. Badâoni has *ماچھیوارہ* and Ferishtah has *ماچھیوارہ*. The trans. of the Târ-i-Khân Jahân Lodi has *Māchiwāra*. *Māchiwāra* is on the bank of the Sutlej where Bairâm Khân and other commanders of Humāyūn's army defeated the Afghāns when Humāyūn was returning to Dehli after his wanderings.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and Ferishtah all say *در شب شنبه ماه صفر سنه تسعمائة* but leave out the date. The lith. edn. gives the same words but calls the month Muharram and not Safar. The trans. of the Târ-i-Khân Jahân Lodi (Ell. V, p. 96) says 1st of Safar 906 H (27 Aug., 1500). This work also says that Khawâs Khân on arrival at Dehli left his son Ismail Khân there, and went according to orders to Sambal. The Sultân received him graciously and presented him with an honorary vest.



sence of the Sultān in Sambal, and was sent to prison. Khawās Khān took charge of Dehli and began to govern it.

It was reported that there was a man with a sacred thread (i.e. a Brāhman) of the name of <sup>1</sup> Laudhan who lived at Kāner. One day in the presence of some Musalmāns he had admitted that Islām was true, and his own religion was also true. This statement of his having been published came to the ears of the learned men. <sup>2</sup> Qāzi Piyārā and Sheikh Badah who were both in Lakhnauti gave *fatwas*, contradicting each other. Āzam Humāyun, the governor of that territory, sent the Brāhman with Qāzi Piyārā and Sheikh Badah to the Sultān at Sambal. As the Sultān had a great inclination for hearing learned dissertations, celebrated learned men were sent for from all directions. <sup>3</sup> Miān Qādan, son of Sheikh Khūju, and Miān ‘Abdullah son of Ilahadād Talanbi; and Saiyed Muhammad, son of Sa’id Khān, came from Delhi, and Mulla Quth-ud-dīn, and Mulla I’lhadād, and Sāleh from Sirhind, and Saiyad Amīn and Mitrān Saiyad Ākhan from Kanauj and the band of learned men who were always with the Sultān, such as Saiyad Sadr-ud-dīn Kanauji, and Miān ‘Abdur-Rahmān resident of Sikri, and Miān Aftzullah Sambali, were also present at the discussion. The learned men all agreed on this that the man should be imprisoned, and should be

<sup>1</sup> The name is given as لودن Laudan, and لودھن Laudhan (or Lodhan), and نودھن Naudhan (or Nodhan) in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has in the lith. edn. يودھن Yudhan. Col. Briggs has Boodhun. The trans. of the Tār-i-Dāūdī (Ell. IV, p. 464) has Laudhan. Kāner is variously written as گانہر, گانہر and گانہر in the MSS. گانہر in the lith. edn. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has گانہن Kaithan. Col. Briggs has Katnen near Lucknow but I do not know where he got the ‘near Lucknow’ from. From what follows it appears that the place was near Lakhnauti and not near Lucknow. The trans. of the Tār-i-Dāūdī (Ell. IV, p. 464) has Kāner.

<sup>2</sup> About Qāzi Piyārā there is no doubt though Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has Qāzi Piśdah and Col. Briggs Qāzi Pualā. As regards the other man some of the MSS. have بدہ, while others omit the sentence containing the names. The lith. edn. has بدہ. Ferishtah has بدر Col. Briggs. Budr, and the trans. of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Badr.

<sup>3</sup> The first learned man had a most out-landish name, he is called قادن قادن in the MSS. and in the lith. edn., Ferishtah has قادر, and the trans. of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Kādan. His father's name is خوجر, or خوجر, or خوجر.

asked to accept Islām; if he declined he should be slain. Laudhan refused to accept Islām and was killed. The learned men were all rewarded and sent to their own residences.

After a few days, Khawās Khān leaving Delhi in charge of his son Ismail Khān, came in accordance with the Sultān's orders to Sambal, and received a 'robe of honour and other favours. At this time, Sa'id Khān <sup>2</sup>Sharwānī came from Lahore, and did homage. As he was among those who intended treason, the Sultān banished him, and Tātār Khān and Muhammad Shāh, and all the traitors from his dominions. They went to Gujrāt by way of Gwāliār. At this time Rāja Mān, Rājā of Gwāliār, sent one of his eunuchs of the name of Nehāl with fine and valuable presents and gifts for the Sultān. When the Sultān asked him questions, he gave discourteous replies. The Sultān by way of protest sent the man away with threats of coming himself and seizing the fort.

At this time news came of the death of Khān-i-Khānān Farmulī, governor of Biānah. For some time, Biānah was kept in charge of <sup>3</sup>'Imad and Suleimān, sons of the Khān-i-Khānān. But as Biānah owing to the strength of the fort and its being on the frontier became a place of disturbance and revolt, 'Imad and Suleimān came from Biānah with their dependants to Sambal. The Sultān took Biānah and made it over to Khawās Khān; and after some days Safdar Khān was appointed administrator of Agra, a dependency of Biānah. <sup>4</sup>Shāmsābād and Jalesar and Manglor and Shāhābād and

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the 'honorary vest' mentioned by the translator of the *Tārkh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi* (see note 3, p. 367).

<sup>2</sup> Sarwānī and Sharwānī in different MSS. in *Ferishtah*.

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. and Badāoni and the *Tār. i-Khān Jahān Lodi* agree in saying that the sons of Khān-i-Khānān, 'Imad and Suleimān succeeded him. *Ferishtah* in the lith. edn. has in one place احمد و سليمان پسران خان احمد and Suleimān, sons of the son of the Khān-i-Khānān and in the next line احمد و سليمان پسران خان. Ahmad and Suleimān sons of Khān-i-Khānān. Col. Briggs does not give the names, but says the sons of the Khān-i-Khānān succeeded him. Col. Ranking thinks that *Ferishtah* is right and that Ahmad and Suleimān, grandsons of the Khān-i-Khānān, succeeded him.

<sup>4</sup> Badāoni does not mention this. The author of the *Tār. i-Khān Jahān Lodi* agrees with the text. *Ferishtah* also does so, except that he substitutes Kāmpila for Manglor.

some other *perganahs* were conferred on 'Imād and Suleimān in *jā'igir*.

'Ālam Khān, governor of Miwāt, and Khān-i-Khānān Lohānī, governor of Rāpri, were ordered that they should in conjunction with Khawās Khān, engage in the capture of the fort of Dholpūr and take it from the possession of <sup>1</sup> Rāy Vināyak Deo. The Rāy came forward to oppose them and much severe fighting took place, and <sup>2</sup> Khawājah Bain who was among the heroes who broke the (enemy's) battle array, there attained to martyrdom; and every day large numbers were slain. When this news reached Sultān Sikandar he in great anxiety left Sambal for Dholpūr on Friday the 6th Ramazān of the aforementioned year. When he arrived in the vicinity of Dholpūr, Rāy Vināyak Deo went away to Gwālīār, leaving his dependants in the fort. The latter, being unable to withstand the attack of the Sultān's army, left the fort in the midnight and fled. In the early morning, the Sultān entered the fort, and after <sup>3</sup> offering a brief thanksgiving, carried out the rites of victory; and the soldiers stretched out their hands for pillage and destruction, laid waste the houses and uprooted the orchards all round Dholpūr which had cast their shade to a distance of seven *karohs*.

The Sultān stayed there for a month, and then started for Gwālīār, and leaving Ādam Lodī and many Amīrs at that <sup>4</sup> place crossed the Chambal and encamped on the bank of the <sup>5</sup> Asi otherwise

<sup>1</sup> The name is very distinctly given in one MSS. as *بناک ديو* Vināyak Deo; in the others and in the lith. edn. it is *سالمکدی* or *بناکدی* or *سالمکدی* Binakdi, or Salkdi and Samkdi. Ferishtah and Col. Briggs have *ديو بنایک* Rāy Vināyak Deo. Badāonī omits the name and so does the author of the *Tār-i-Dāūdī*, calling him the Rāy of the place but a few lines further down, the former calls him Mānik Deo. The *Tār-i-Khān Jahān* Lodī has Rāy Mānik Deo. Dholpūr is one of the Rājput States. The town of Dholpūr is 34 miles S. of Agra and 37 miles N.W. of Gwālīār.

<sup>2</sup> The name is given as *ابن بھن دین* and *ابن* in the MSS. The lith. edn. has *بھن*. Ferishtah has *بھن*. Col. Briggs has Babun. Badāonī, omits his name. The *Tār-i-K.J.* has Khwāja Ben; the *Tār-i-D.* does not mention him.

<sup>3</sup> The actual words are *رسانیدہ شکر بنقدیم* *دو گانہ* appears to be a prayer with two genuflections; a short prayer.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently Dholpūr.

<sup>5</sup> Col. Ranking says that he cannot definitely identify this river, the

called the Mendakī, and stayed there for two months. On account of the bad water of the place, illness prevailed among the men; and it became the source of a pestilence. The Rājā of Gwālār offered his submission and sued for peace. He expelled Sa'id Khan and Bābū Khān and Rāy Ganesh who had fled from the Sultān and taken shelter with him, from the fort and sent his eldest son <sup>1</sup> Bikramājīt to attend on the Sultān. The latter gave him a horse and a robe of honour, and granted him permission to return, and himself turned back towards Agra. When he arrived at Dholpūr, he conferred that territory on Vināyak Deo, and coming to Agra, spent the rainy season there.

After the <sup>2</sup>rising of Canopus, in the month of Ramazān in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), he raised his standards for the conquest of the fort of <sup>3</sup> Mundrāel. He stayed for a month in the vicinity of Dholpūr, and sent his troops that they might plunder and ravage the country round Gwālār and Mundrāel. After that he went himself and besieged the fort of Mundrāel. The garrison begged for quarter and surrendered the fort. The Sultān demolished the idol temples <sup>4</sup>

Asan in Keith Johnston (India) s. f. flowing west of Gwālār would answer to the Asī in position. Rennel's map gives no name to the river. Modakī, as Ferishtah has it, Col. Ranking says, means frog-haunted. The correct Sans. word would be Mandūkī and Mendakī as the Tabaqāt has it, is a nearer approximation than Modakī.

<sup>1</sup> The correct Sanskrit name is Vikramāditya. The name given in the text agrees with those given in Badāonī, Ferishtah and in the Tār-i-K.J.L. Col. Briggs (trans. of Ferishtah) says that Sa'id Khān and Bābū Khān were both Sheerwanīs and the Rāy sent his son with costly presents. In the lith. edn (of Ferishtah) Sa'id Khān and Babu Khan are not called Sheerwanīs or anything else, nor does it contain any mention of presents.

<sup>2</sup> Which indicates the end of the rains.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Ranking says that Mundrāel is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tuffenthaler (I, 174) mentions it under the name of Mandalayer or Madrāel and says that it is upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal and 12 miles S.S.E. of Caroli (Kerauli). See Keith Johnston's Atlas India E.F. Mandler. See Ain-i-Akbari (J) II 190, Mandlār.

<sup>4</sup> The actual words are کتابی، بتخانہ. Col. Briggs translates them as idol temples, and Col. Ranking as idol temples and churches. Kanayes, (pl. of کنیسہ) are fire temples. For an essay on Fire-worship in Upper India see Elliot V, appendix (p. 559).

and fire temples and founded mosques. He left <sup>1</sup>Mian Makan, deputy of Muḡāhid Khān, in charge of the fort and himself moved about plundering and ravaging that country, and seized and took prisoner a large number of people, and after razing to the ground orchards and buildings started towards Agra, and when he arrived at Dholpūr he rebuilt the fort there; and taking it away from Rāy Vināyak Deo, placed it in charge of Malik <sup>2</sup>Qamr-ud-dīn, and himself remained in Agra, and sent the Amīrs to their jāigīrs.

At this time on Sunday the 3rd of Safar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that hills began to shake and lofty and strong buildings also fell down. The living thought it to be the day of resurrection and the dead thought it the day of rising.

<sup>3</sup> In nine hundred and eleven, from earthquakes,  
The land of Agra became like places of death.  
As the foundations were very strong  
From the earthquakes the high became low.

From the time of Adam till this time, such an earthquake had not occurred in any parts of Hindustān; and no one remembers such an earthquake. They say that on that very day, there were earthquakes in many cities of Hindustān. After the rising of the Canopus in the year 911 H. (1505 A.D.) the Sultān moved towards Gwālīār: and after waiting in Dholpūr, for one and half month, encamped near the ford of <sup>4</sup>Kusla on the bank of the Chambal and

<sup>1</sup> The name is not given in either Badāonī or Ferishtaḥ. The latter says he left it in charge of a trustworthy man.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have Malik Qamr-ud-dīn: other MSS. have *ملک فخرالدین* Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn and *ملک عزالدین* Malik 'Izz-ud-dīn. Ferishtaḥ (lith. edn.) has *شیخ قمرالدین* Shaikh Qamr-ud-dīn. Badāonī does not mention the name. Briggs has Shaikh Qamr-ud-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> The same verses occur in Badāonī. The only difficulty is about the word *مرحله*. *مرحلة* is a place of starting *جای رحلت*: hence a stage in a journey. Col. Ranking has translated it as the goal of several successive earthquakes. I have translated it as places of departure or death.

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. have *کسله* Kuslah, *کور کهنه* Kūrkuhnah, *کور کھ* Kūrkaḥ. The lith. edn. has *کهنه* Kuhnah. Ferishtaḥ has *کوکھه* Kūkha. In the Tār.-i-K.J.L. it is called the ferry of Gour.

stayed there for several months. Then leaving Shāhzādah <sup>1</sup>Ibrāhīm and Jalāl Khān with other Khāns there, he marched out with the intention of carrying on a war of religion and of plunder. He pillaged and took prisoner and slew the greater part of the people who had escaped into the jungles and hills. As owing to the non-arrival of the <sup>2</sup>Banjārahs to the army, grain came only in small quantities. The Sultān sent Ā'zam Humāyūn and Ahmad Khān and Mujāhid Khān to bring them, and <sup>3</sup>although the Rāy of Gwāliār withstood them on the road he was unable to do anything. Couplet :

The moth that hurls itself on the lamp  
With envy, on its own heart doth put a stain.

When the Sultān, in the course of his marches, came to <sup>4</sup>Hashāwar, one of the dependencies of Gwāliār, an advance guard went forward everyday ten *karoḥs* ahead of the army towards the enemy and kept watch, and knew the movements of the latter.

Verse :

<sup>5</sup> For if in that brave and warlike host  
Thou, shotst an arrow sharp and fast ;

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. have شاهزاده خان Shāhzādah Khān. Badāonī is silent about all that occurred between the earthquake and the siege of Untgarh. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has شاعراده ابراهيم. The Tār-i-K.J.L. has prince Jalāl Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Briggs says that this is the first mention of this useful class in Muhammedan history. He says that they form a very ancient Hindu mercantile community who live in tents, have laws of their own and do not intermarry with the people of the towns. The men are remarkable for their courage, integrity and enterprise and the women for their chastity. An account of this race in the Deccan will be found in the first vol. of the Bombay literary transactions. They appear to be extinct now, but I heard the name Banjāra, i.e. a Banjara woman, in a child's doggerel, when I was a boy at Lucknow, about 60 years ago.

<sup>3</sup> This agrees almost word for word with Ferishtah (lith. edn.), but Col. Briggs says that Ā'zam Humāyūn and the other generals effected the work at great risk owing to the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Gwāliār.

<sup>4</sup> All the MSS. have حشاوار Hashāwar, but the lith. edn. has چتاوار Chitawar, and so has the translator of the Tār-i-K.J.L. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has جنور Janur, and Col. Briggs, Chinoor.

<sup>5</sup> Two of the MSS. omit the verses altogether, one MS. and the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.) all have the reading I have adopted. Another MS. has a somewhat different reading.

From the bow while yet it had not gone far,  
The king on his sky-high throne received the news.

The army of the Rāy of Gwālīār at the time of the return came out of ambush, and a severe battle took place. <sup>1</sup> Audh Khān and Āhmad Khān son of Khān-i-Jahān were in that detachment; and it was on account of their exertion and bravery, and the help of the Sultān's army, that the Rājputs were defeated, and a large number of them were slain and taken prisoner. The Sultān conferred the title of Malik Audh on Audh Khān and showed him favour; and on account of the approach of the rains turned towards Agra. When he arrived at Dholpūr, he left a large number of notable Amīrs at that place, and going himself to Agra stayed there during the rains.

After the rising of Canopus, in the year 912 H. (1506 A.D.), he marched towards the fort of <sup>2</sup> Uditnagar. When he arrived at Dholpūr he sent 'Imād Khān Farmulī and Mujāhid Khān, with <sup>3</sup> some thousands of horsemen and one hundred elephants towards the fort, and remained where he was. He appointed Qāzī Abdul Wāhid, son of Tahir Bag Kabulī, resident of the town of Thāneswar, and Sheikh 'Umr and Sheikh Ibrāhīm to the posts of chamberlains. The governorship of Kālpi had been confirmed to Jalāl Khān the son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī, after the latter's death. Bhikhan Khān and Hājī Khān, brothers of Jalāl Khān having quarrelled with each other, made a representation of their affairs to the Sultān. The latter sent Fīroz Aghwān to them. The Aghwāns are a tribe akin to the Afghāns. The Sultān then left Mujāhid Khān at Dholpūr and

<sup>1</sup> Several of the MSS. have اوده خان Audh Khān, but one or two and Ferishtah and the translator of the Tar-i-K.J.L. have دارد خان Dard Khān. The latter make both the men named sons of Khān-i-Jahān, while the MSS. and the lith. edn., and Ferishtah all have the word پسر son, in the singular, making Āhmad Khān alone the son of Khān-i-Jahān.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have اوسكى, اونكر, اونكر, which are difficult to decipher correctly, and ادنگر Uditnagar. The lith. edn. has ادنگر Uditnagar. Badāoni has اونگر Auntgar. Col. Ranking has Antgarh. Ferishtah has ادونگر Udwantgarh and Col. Briggs Hunwantgarh. Col. Ranking says that this fortress lay just south of Mandlaer, and is shewn in the map as Deogarh, see Āin-i-Akbarī (B) 1380, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> One MS. has با پنج هزار, with five thousand (horsemen).

encamped on the bank of the Chambal. Bhikhan Khān and Hājī Khān came and did homage and were honoured with favours.

The Sultān came to Uditnagar on the 23rd of the afore-mentioned month and besieged the fort. He ordered that the whole army should be ready to fight stoutly and should devote themselves to the capture of the fort, with all weapons of warfare and destruction. The Sultān, in his own person, engaged in the battle, at the moment which astrologers had accepted, and the conflict raged in all directions. The soldiers clung like ants and locusts and showed their bravery and manliness, and the breeze of victory and triumph began to blow on the plumes of the Sultan's standards and a breach was made on the side on which Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn was leading the attack, and brave warriors having entered, carried on the *Jahād* and although the garrison raised cries for quarter, it did not reach anyone's ears. There were other breaches on other sides, and the fort was captured. Couplet :

Should the fort of heaven be high

The warrior would throw his sunlike noose.

And the Rājputs taking shelter in their houses fought and then killed and burnt their wives and children. At this time an arrow hit the eye of Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn, and made his world-seeing eyes lightless. After the victory the Sultān performed the rites of thanksgiving, and placed the fort in charge of <sup>1</sup> Makan and Mujāhid Khān. He destroyed the idol temples and ordered the erection of mosques. As it had reached the ears of the Sultān that Mujāhid Khān had taken a bribe from the Rājā of Uditnagar, and had promised, that he would turn the Sultān back from the fort, he, on the 16th of the month of Muharram, 913 H. (28th May, 1507) imprisoned <sup>2</sup> Mulla Juman, his

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have Makan and Mujāhid Khān, so has the lith. edn. and the Tār-i-K.J.L. Some of the MSS. have omitted the clause about the charge of the fort. Ferishtah has Bhikhan Khān son of Mujāhid Khān. I have thought it proper to retain Makan, as it was stated in a previous page, that he, as agent of Mujāhid Khān, was placed in charge of the fort of Mandrail and Bhikhan Khān was mentioned, only a few lines before this, as a son of Mahmūd Khān Lodi. It is not likely that there should be two Bhikhan Khāns.

<sup>2</sup> The Tār-i-K.J.L. calls him Moulāna Juman. Ferishtah calls him Malik Chaman. The Tār-i-K.J.L. says that the fort was placed in charge of Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Kambu.



chamberlain, who was a special intimate of Muġshid Khān and made him over to Malik Tāj-ud-dīn Kambu, and an order was sent to the Khāns, who were at Dholpūr, that they should imprison Muġshid Khān.

The army marched towards Agra in the month of Muharram 913 H. (1507 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> On the way, one day on account of the narrowness and unevenness of the road, which required the men to go now up and now down, a halt was ordered for the passage of the army, and many people died on account of the want of water and the great multitude of animals. On the day the price of a goglet of water rose to fifteen *tanqahs*, and some who obtained water, on account of their great thirst, drank so much of it that they died. When, according to orders, the corpses were counted, they were found to be eight hundred in number. Couplet :

When the days of one's existence are finished,  
Water in a man's mouth acts like poison.

The Sultān arrived in Dholpūr on the <sup>2</sup>28th of the aforesaid month. and after staying there for a few days he came to Agra and passed the rainy season there.

After the rising of Canopus, in the year 913 H. (1507 A.D.) the Sultān determining on the capture of the fort of <sup>3</sup>Narwar, a dependency of Mālwah, sent an order to <sup>4</sup>Jalāl Khān, the governor of Kalpi, that he should go and besiege it, and if the garrison should seek for peace, he

<sup>1</sup> These incidents are mentioned in the Tār-i-K.J.L. and in Ferishtah and also in less detail in the Tār-i-Dāūdī.

<sup>2</sup> The Tār-i-K.J.L. makes it the 27th. Ferishtah gives the month, but not the date.

<sup>3</sup> It appears from a note in Col. Ranking's trans. of Badā'uni that Narwar lay about half-way between Gwālīār and Dhār. He also says that Tieff. i. 175 has a description and map of the fortress, and that according to the Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) ii. 190 it lay on the right bank of the river Sind 44 miles south of Gwālīār city. He also refers to Hunter, Imp. Gaz. X, 227. As I was doubtful about Narwar being on the bank of the river Sind I looked into Āin-i-Akbarī (J.) ii. 190. What I found there did not agree exactly with Col. Ranking's note. It appears there that Narwar is a strong fort, and in certain parts of it, there are Hindu temples built of stone. The Kālī Sind is one of the rivers in Sarkār Narwar.

<sup>4</sup> He was the son of Mahmūd Khān Lodī and had become governor of Kalpi on the death of his father.

should not reject their prayer. Jalāl Khān Lodī went and besieged the fort. The Sultān also after a few days arrived there. On the following day, when the Sultān mounted to go and reconnoitre the fort, Jalāl Khān stood on the road having arranged his army; so that its multitude might come under the Sultān's eye, and the value of his services may be known. He had divided his forces into three armies: one of infantry, a second of cavalry and the third of elephants. The Sultān saw the multitude of his army, became envious, and determined in his mind, that he would gradually ruin him and subvert his power. The Sultān carried on the siege for a year, and as the fort was very strong, and its length eight *karohs*, the troops went to attack it every day and were slain. After a few days had passed in this way, the Sultān ordered that the troops should get ready 'twisted leather thongs, large knives, shovels, and spades and battle axes for the purpose of undermining the fort, and then attack it. The troops acted in accordance with the orders, and attacked the fort from all sides, and showed great bravery and courage. The Sultān stood on the roof of a house and inspected all that was going on. He saw that the fort was breached at one place, and immediately the breach was closed from within: and large numbers of his men were slain. The fort could not be taken that day, and he therefore brought back his army. Even during this time, the Sultan was busy planning to seize and ruin Jalāl Khān. He drew his best men to his own side, and disorganised his troops. After that two *farmāns* were issued; one for the seizure of Jalāl Khān, addressed to Ibrahim Khān Lohāni and Suleimān Farmult, and Malik 'Ala-ud-din Jalwāni; and another addressed to Miān Bhuah who was the *Vazīr*, and Sa'ūd Khan, son of Zakuh, and Malik Ādam. And the aforementioned Khāns put Jalāl Khān and Shīr Khān in chain, carried them to the fort of Uditnagar and kept them imprisoned there.

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<sup>1</sup> The weapons named would hardly be very effective in undermining and capturing a strong fort, but apparently those were the only ones available. The actual words are بیل, زانول, ساجور, طرة, ساجور; طرة ordinarily means a tress of curling hair. The only meaning given in the dictionary that would at all apply are twisted leather thongs; a ساجور according to the dictionary is a butcher's large knife; a زانول is a mattock, or battle axo; and a بیل is a shovel, or spade.

After these events, the garrison of Narwar, after suffering much privation for want of water and the dearth of grain, begged for quarter, and went out with their goods and chattels. The Sultân destroyed the temples and laid the foundations of mosques; and fixed stipends, and allowances for learned men and students, and settled them there; and stayed for six months at the foot of the fort. At this time news came, that Shahâb-ud-dîn, the son of Sultân Nâsir-ud-dîn, the ruler of Mâlwa, being annoyed with his father was coming to the court of the Sultân. When he came near <sup>1</sup>Sûi, one of the dependencies of Mâlwa, the Sultân sent a horse and a robe of honour to him, with the message that if he would surrender Chanderi which was a dependency of Mâlwa, he should receive such help that Sultân Nâsir-ud-dîn would have no power over him. It so happened however, that certain things occurred which prevented Shâhzâdah Shahâb-ud-dîn's coming out of Mâlwa, as is narrated in the section about that kingdom.

Sultân Sikandar marched from the fort of Narwar on the 26th day of the month of Sha'bân, 914 H. (1508 A.D.), arrived on the bank of the river Sipra in the month of Zi-quâdah of the same year, and there it came into his mind, that as the fort of Narwar was so extremely strong, that if it should fall into the hands of an enemy, it could not be recaptured from him. For this reason, he erected another fort round it, so that an enemy should not be able to seize it. Having freed his mind from this anxiety he came to the town of <sup>2</sup>Lahāyor and stayed there for a month. At this time <sup>3</sup>N'amat

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have سیری Sîrî, سِپری Sipri, سپری which is difficult to decipher. The lith. edn. has تِسرِی Tîsrî. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has میرِی. Badāonî does not mention Shahâb-ud-dîn at all, but says that Muhâmmad Khân, grandson of Sultân Nâsir-ud-dîn, sought the protection of Sultân Sikandar, but that was in 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.).

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have لہایر Lahāyer except one which has لہابر Lahābar. The lith. edn. has لہاہیر Labhāyer. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has بہار Behār. Col. Briggs has Yehar. Badāonî does not mention the Sultân's coming to the place, but he says that in 915 A.H. he marched from لہایر Lahāyer. Col. Ranking transliterates it as Lahāyar and says in a note that Lahār is placed in Renel's map about 50 miles S.E. of Gwālîar. He also refers to Hunter Imp. Gaz. VIII, 400.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah says that the Khâtûn was the مریضہ foster-mother of the

Khātūn, wife of Qutb Khān Lodi, came with Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān and joined the Sultān's army. The Sultān went to see them, and sought their affection, and after a few days, the Sarkār of Kālpī was conferred as a *Jāigir* on Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān. He also gave him 120 horses, and 15 elephants with a robe of honour, and a sum in cash, and sent him off with the Khātūn towards Kālpī. Couplet:

Be generous, for generosity

Doth make the free man thy bounden slave.

On the 10th Muharram 915 A.H. (1509 A.D.) the Royal Standards marched out from Lahāyer, and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of <sup>1</sup> Hatkānt, he sent troops against the rebels of those districts, and purified them from rebels and disturbers of the peace; and leaving posts in different places, went and stayed in the metropolis of Agra. At this time news came that Āhmad Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodi, the governor of <sup>2</sup> Lakhnauti had, associating with infidels, become perverted and had turned back from the religion of Islām. An order was sent to Muhammad Khān, brother of Āhmad Khān, that he should arrest the latter and send him to the Sultān; and the Sarkār of Lakhnauti was placed in charge of Sa'īd Khān, his brother.

At the same time Muhammad Khan, the grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mālwi, became suspicious of his grandfather, and sought Sultān Sikandar's protection, and the Sarkār of Chandari was appointed as his *jāigir*, and an order was issued to Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, that he should help and support him, so that he might not suffer any injury from the army of Mālwah. At this time the Sultān

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Shāhzādah. Col. Briggs calls her his wet nurse. Qutb Khan Lodi is described as Sultān Bahlōl's cousin in the *Tār-i-Dāudī*, Ell. IV, p. 468.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> Most of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have لکھنوتی Lakhnauti; one MS. has لکھنور Lakhnau with a superfluous و. Badāonī does not mention this matter at all. Ferištāh (lith. edn.) also has لکھنوتی, Lakhnauti; but Col. Briggs and the translator of the *Tār-i-K.J.L.* have Lucknow. Col. Briggs thinks that it is not likely that a Muslimān like Āhmad Khān should have become an idolater. He thinks that Āhmad Khān was probably forbearing and tolerant to the Hindus, and this was sufficient for his being considered to be a Hindu.

had a great desire for travelling about and hunting; and he moved towards Dholpūr; and from Agra to Dholpūr he erected mansions and palaces, at each stage. As fortune was his friend, when he was engaged in hunting, he obtained a kingdom as his prey. The details of this brief statement are these, that <sup>1</sup> 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr, relations of Muhammad Khān, ruler of Nagor, acting treacherously towards the latter wanted to kill him by deceit, and take possession of his territory; and he having received information of this treachery, attacked them. They fled and came to the court of the Sultān. Muhammad Khān knowing the enmity of his brothers and relations, and also that they had asked for the protection of the great Sultān, acted with great foresight, and sent representations couched in sincere language, and many gifts and presents, and inserted the name of the Sultān in the public prayers and coinage of his territory, and the Sultān sent him a robe of honour and a horse. He then returned from Dholpūr and took up his residence in his 'Caṣṣal of Agra. And for some time, having spread a bed of pleasure, wandered about in gardens, and enjoyed himself in festive society and pleasure and rest. It should be known that <sup>2</sup> Agra became the seat of the throne in his time.

After a considerable time, he again marched towards Dholpūr. At this time he ordered Miān Suleimān, son of Khan-i-Khānān Farnullī, that he should go with his army and equipage to Uditnagar to the confines of <sup>3</sup> Sui Sūr to help and reinforce Hasan Khān newly converted to Islām, who had the name of Rāy Dūngar, and he

<sup>1</sup> Badāonī does not give these names, but Col. Ranking in a note says that Ferishta calls them 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr. But the lith. edn. of Ferishta which I have got and Col. Briggs give Abū Bakr as the name of one of them. The Tār-i-K.J.L. however has Abū Bakr.

<sup>2</sup> It appears that up to this time Agra was a dependency of Biānah.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to decipher this name. The MSS. have سوری sūrī, سوي سوير, Sui Sūr and سوي سوير Sui Miur. The lith. edn. has تبنی سوير Tabnī Sūr. Ferishta and Badāonī do not give the name. The Tār-i-K.J.L. has Suiāpūr. The name, however, occurs in Badāonī in another connection. It is there given سوي سوير Sui Sūr with a variant سوي و سوير Sui wa Sūpur. Col. Ranking says in a note that at that place Ferishta has سوي سوير Sui pūr. The lith. edn. of Ferishta has شيرپور Shīrpūr at that place.

excused himself, and said that he should not go away from attendance on the Sultān. These words became the cause of the displeasure of the Sultān, and he ordered that he (i.e. Miān Suleimān) should be dismissed from his (the Sultān's) service, and whatever of his goods and chattels he should be able to carry away during that night should belong to him, and what he would be unable to take away should be allowed to be pillaged by the people. The *paryānah* of Indari was given to him as a means of subsistence, and he went and took up his residence there.

At this time Bahjat Khān, the governor of Chanderi, whose ancestors had for generations been the subjects of the bādshāh of Mālwah, on account of the weakness of Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi, and the decay of his government, came into relation with the Sultān by sending presents. The Sultān sent 'Imād-ul-Mulk Badah whose name was <sup>1</sup> Āhmad, towards Chanderi, that he, in concert with Bahjat Khān, might have the public prayer read in the Sultān's name in Chanderi and its neighbourhood. After that the Sultān returned from Dholpūr and came to Agra; and by <sup>2</sup> sending *farmāns* containing the good news of the submission of Bahjat Khān, and the reading of the public prayers in his name in the territory of Chanderi, and the gaining of fresh victories, his fame became high in all sides and directions.

At this time the Sultān considered it proper for reasons of State to change and alter the *jāigīrs* of some of the Amīrs. He took the *Sarkar* of Itāwah from Bhitkhan Khān, son of 'Ālam Khān Lodi, and entrusted it to Khizr Khan, his younger brother. In the same way the *jāigīr* of Khwājah Muhammad 'Imād Farmuli was transferred to Khwājah Ahmad, his brother; and *jāigīrs* of other Amīrs in the same way. After that (the Sultān) deputed Sa'id Khān, son of Mubārak Khān Lodi, and Shaikh Jamāl, son of Usmān Farmuli, and

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has احمد خان; the MSS. have احمد Ahmad and حميد Hamid. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has احمد. Col. Briggs simply says 'Imād-ul-Mulk.

<sup>2</sup> There are considerable variations in the readings here in the different MSS. I have adopted the reading in which two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.), who generally follows the *Tabaqāt* sometimes almost verbatim, agree.



and Shaikh <sup>1</sup> 'Abd-ul-lah Husenî who were celebrated for revelations and miracle-working. Verse :

Don't pass the righteous, for at the time of weighing,  
The stone is placed opposite to gold, in the proximity of the  
balance.

In short 'Ali Khān so bewitched Shāhzādah Daulat Khān and his mother, who held authority in the fort of Ranthambor, with many promises that the Shāhzādah came with all quickness to attend on the Sultān. In accordance with the orders of the latter, all the Amlrs went forward to receive him, brought him with all honour and respect to the Sultān's presence. The latter treated him with fatherly affection and conferred on him a special robe of honour and some horses and elephants, and asked him to take the trouble of surrendering the fort of Ranthambor, according to the engagements already entered into. It so happened, however, that <sup>2</sup> that very 'Ali Khān acted with hypocrisy, and induced Shāhzādah Daulat Khān not to surrender the fort, and emboldened him to break his promise. The Shāhzādah then evaded surrendering the fort. The Sultān became aware of the duplicity of 'Ali Khān, and transferred the Sarkār of Sul Sūr from him to his brother Abū Bakr; and on account of his patience and his natural kindness did not shew any greater disfavour toward 'Ali Khān; and did not also show any displeasure or anger towards the Shāhzādah of Ranthambor.

The Sultān, having composed his mind about the affairs of the territory of Biānah and its neighbourhood, started from there towards <sup>3</sup> Thankar; and from that place he arrived at <sup>4</sup> Bāri and after transfer-

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. call him Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenî, while others call him Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Al-Husenî. The lith. edn. has Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenî. Badāonî has Shaikh 'Abd-ul-lah Husenî. Ferishtah (lith. ed.) has Shaikh Husenî.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. (except one, which omits the word *عالم* before the 'Ali Khān) and the lith. edn. and Ferishtah (lith. edn.) have the word *عالم* before the name of 'Ali Khān.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. and the lith. edn. have *ٺنکر* Thankar and *ٺنکر* Thahkar. Badāonî also has *ٺنکر* Thankar; Ferishtah has *ٺنکر* Thānkar. According to Col. Ranking, the place is called Thankar, (or, he says, more properly) Bhankar or Thankr or Thangir. It was a fortress in the territory of Biānah.

<sup>4</sup> A township in the Sarkār of Agra.



ing that *pargana* from the sons of Mubārak Khān to Shaikhzādah Makan, went to Dholpūr; and from there came to his capital Agra; and according to his ancient custom sent *farmāns* in all directions, and summoned the amīrs from their governments.

As life has no faith, and sovereignty no permanence, at this time the Sultān contracted an illness, and although on account of his high spirit <sup>1</sup> he thought nothing of it, and in that condition sat in the *dewān* or audience hall and rode about. But gradually the illness became more and more serious, so that even a morsel of food and water did not pass through his throat; and the passage of the spirit became closed. Verse:

In this festive hall, the cup-bearers are so unkind,  
That at the time of joy they hold the poisoned cup!  
Alas for pleasure, with clay they Sikander make,  
The wine of delight from Sanjar's heart-blood they quaff!

On Sunday, the <sup>2</sup>7th of the month of Zi-qādah, 923 A.H. (Jany. 1518 A.D.) he separated from the world. Verse:

Sikandar of the seven climes liveth not,  
None lives, as Sikandar liveth not.

The period of his rule was 28 years and five months.

As so much has been said in certain histories in praise and glorification of Sultān Sikandar, that a great part of it is suspected to be exaggeration and hyperbole, and only that which was nearest to correctness has been mentioned here. They say that Sultān Sikandar was adorned with personal beauty and decorated with mental perfection. Everything was very cheap in the period of his dominion, and there was peace and security. The Sultān sat every-day in public and was accessible to all seekers after justice; and

<sup>1</sup> The lith. edn. has از روی غیرت بخود ضعف نمی آورد, owing to his high spirit he did not confess any loss of strength. This makes sense, but all the MSS. have left out the word ضعف weakness or want of strength. Foriahtah in the corresponding passage has, از روی غیرت خیالی بخود را نداده, i.e. owing to his high spirit he did not allow a thought to enter his mind.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the MSS. and Badāonī has 17th: other MSS. and the lith. edn. and the Tār-i-Dāūdī has 7th. As regards the corresponding month and year of the Christian era Col. Ranking has Jany., 1518, and the translator of the Tār-i-Dāūdī, Nov., 1517.

sometimes from morning till evening and the time of going to sleep he was engaged with matters in dispute, and performed the prayers for the five times (in the day) in one sitting. In the time of his sovereignty the arm of oppression of the Zamindārs of India became short; and they were all obedient and submissive. The strong and the weak were equal. In all affairs justice was administered and on most occasions, he did not run after sensual pleasure, and was extremely God-fearing and kind to the people. On the day on which he had a battle with his brother, Bārbak Shah, a calender or *darvesh* appeared when the battle was going on, and catching hold of the Sultān's hand said "The victory is thine." The Sultān snatched away his hand roughly. The *darvesh* said "I am giving thee good omen, and bringing thee good news of victory; why dost thou snatch away thy hand?" The Sultān said in reply, that whenever there was war between two parties of Musalmans, the victory should not be predicted for one side, but it should be said that that should happen which would be for the good of <sup>1</sup> Islām; and in victory one should pray to God for whatever should be for the good of the people. <sup>2</sup>Twice every year, he ordered the *fajirs*, and other deserving people of his kingdom, that they should bring a writing in detail (of their needs); and he would send to each one, according to his condition, an amount for the next six months; and whoever came for (military) service, he asked a great deal <sup>3</sup> about the descent of their fathers, and in accordance with that <sup>4</sup>engaged

<sup>1</sup> The readings are different, اسلام, Islām, اهل الإسلام, the followers of Islām, and مسلمانیان, Musalmāniān, Musalmans.

<sup>2</sup> Two of the MSS. have a different reading *muz.* هر سال دو مرتبه فقرا و مساكين و گوشه نشینان را طلب كرد و جامها و رزقا و ما يحتاج ششماه میداد i.e. twice every year he summoned the *fajirs*, and the poor and those who sat in seclusion, and gave them garments and gold and whatever they needed for the six months.

<sup>3</sup> Here also the readings on the MSS. are different, *muz.* (1) از نسب پدران او about the descent or family of their fore-fathers, (2) احوال پدران و نسبت او را about the condition of their fathers and their relations; (3) از نسبت پدران او as to the relationship or family of their fathers. A similar passage occurs in the Tār-i-Dāndī (Elliot, Vol. IV. p. 446).

<sup>4</sup> One MS. has علوه مقرر مقرر کرد, fixed his allowance.

him (i.e. fixed his emoluments), and without inspecting his horse and his accoutrements, granted him a *jāgīr* and said "Provide your accoutrements from your *jāgīr*."

His faith (bigotry) in Islām was to that extent, that he went beyond the bounds even of excess. He levelled to the ground all the places of worship of the *kāfīrs*; and left neither their name nor any vestige of them. In <sup>1</sup> Mathūrah and other places, where there are places for the ablution of the Hindus, he built serais, and bazaars, and mosques, and colleges, and employed men to prevent the Hindus from bathing. If any Hindu wanted to shave his beard or head in Mathūrah, the barber refused to place his hand on his beard or head; and he completely abolished all heathenish practices by public orders. He forbade the annual <sup>2</sup> procession of the lance of Sālār Masa'ūd. He also prohibited the going of women to the tombs of holy men. In his younger days, i.e. when he was still the Shāhzādah he heard that there was a reservoir in Thanessar where Hindus assembled and bathed. He asked the learned men "What is the order of the law of the Prophet in this matter." They said "It is not lawful to lay waste ancient idol temples, and it does not rest with you to prohibit ablution in a reservoir which has been customary from ancient times." The Shāhzādah put his hand on his dagger, and attempted to slay that learned man and said, "You take the side of the heathen." That wise man said "I only say what has come down in the law of the Prophet, and I am not afraid to tell the truth." The Shāhzādah was pacified.

In short, in all his dominions he appointed readers of the Qurān or ministers and preachers and sweepers in all the mosques and fixed stipends and gifts for them. In the winter he sent garments and shawls for *faqīrs*; and every Friday he sent a certain amount to

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<sup>1</sup> Bathing in the river, and having their heads shaved are more customary for Hindus in Prayāg (Allahabad) and Benares, than in Mathura or Muthra (Cl., however, Ell. IV, p. 447.)

<sup>2</sup> Sālār Masa'ūd Ghāzī was a celebrated champion of Islām, who after numberless encounters with the Hindu idolators fell in battle near Bahraich, in 424 A.H. and then gained the title of Sultān-ush-Shuhadā or the prince of martyrs. The prohibition of the procession of his lance shews that Sultān Sikandar was consistent in his opposition to all forms of idolatry, and all attempts to deify human beings.

the *faqirs* of the city; and every day food uncooked and cooked was distributed in a certain number of places. And <sup>1</sup> every day and on every Friday and twice every year there were rewards specially for *faqirs* throughout his dominions. On all holy days such as the Rama-zân and the first ten days of the Muharram, and on occasions of thanksgivings for victories and other successes, he made the hearts of *faqirs* and *darveshes* happy. Couplet:

If thou the splendour of greatness hast,  
Take thou the poor men's heart in thy hand!

<sup>2</sup> Learning spread in the country, and the sons of amirs, and soldiers also devoted themselves to the acquisition of excellences in knowledge. Wealthy men gave to *faqirs* and deserving people out of their riches, what was in accordance to the law of the Prophet.

It is narrated that at the time when Sultân Bahlol died, and they summoned Sultân Sikandar to take up the empire, and <sup>3</sup> he intended to go away, one day he went out of Dehli to do homage to Shaikh Samâ'-ud-din who was among the holy men of the time, and asked him for a prayer on his behalf. He also said I wish to read the book of <sup>4</sup> *Mizân Sarj* (Arabic grammar) with thee, and made a

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. differ slightly here. One leaves out, *و نومیه و جمعگی*, daily and on every Friday, and several have the word *محرورسه* after *ممالک*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tār-i-Dāūdī*, Elliot, IV, p. 450. It is said there, that the Argar Mahavedak or the science of medicine was translated, and received the name of Tibb-i-Sikandari. Argar is apparently a corruption of Arya. Mahavedak may be Mahavedah.

<sup>3</sup> The readings differ, here one MS. has *او اراده رفتن نمود روزی که از دهلی* and begins *او اراده رفتن نمود* and *او اراده رفتن نمود* etc. *ببرون صورت بخدمت شیخ سماوالدین که از بزرگان وقت بود بجهت التفات* towards the end. Another omits *او اراده رفتن نمود* and begins *او اراده رفتن نمود* etc. *بجهت التفات* etc.

Another agrees with the first with the exception that it has *در* before *روزی*. The lith. edn. and *Ferishtah* (lith. edn.) have *الدين* *شيخ* *بهاء الدين* *Shaikh Bahā'-ud-din* instead of *سماوالدين* *شيخ* *Shaikh Samā'-ud-din*.

<sup>4</sup> One of the MSS. and *Ferishtah* in the corresponding passage leaves out the word *مصرف*.

The same anecdote is mentioned in *Badā'uni* and *Ferishtah*. But the

beginning. When the teacher read in it *استعذك الله تعالى في دارين* *as'adak allāh t'āla fi dārain*, may the most High God make the fortunate in both worlds! the Sultān said 'say it again' and made him repeat it thrice, and then kissing the hand of the holy man, and taking that prayer to be a good omen started. Verse:

The <sup>1</sup> words of the pure and the wise are interpreters of fate,  
 Their minds and their tongues are like tablet and pen,  
 Eternal blessing in their <sup>2</sup> harmony is contained,  
 And ruin eternal, in their <sup>3</sup> enmity concealed.

Every one among the amirs and the wealthy men who gave stipends and subsistence allowances to the needy and the *faqirs* gained the confidence of the Sultān; and the latter said, they have laid the foundation of something good, in which there never can be any loss.

He possessed information about the condition of his raiyats and his soldiers, to such a degree, that details of the domestic affairs of men reached him; and sometimes he received information of what happened to men when they were quite alone; so that men suspected that the Sultān had a *jinn* who was intimate with him, and gave him information of what was in the future.

They say that whenever he sent an army to a place, two *farmāns* reached that army everyday, one early in the morning, which directed that they should halt at such a place after the day's march, and another in the afternoon or the end of the day, which said do this and that. There was never any change in this; and post horses were always kept ready on the road. Whenever a *farmān* was sent to an amir of an outlying district, the latter came out two or three

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former does not say that Sikandar went to the Shaikh and said he wanted to read *Mizān Surf* with him, but he made his customary daily walk a pretext and asked the Shaikh the meaning of the expression *as'adak allāh*, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The reading in the MSS. and the lith. edn. is حديث اهل فنا, only one MS. has زبن اهل فنا. I have not been able to find the meaning of فنا. Probably it means the Sufis, one of whose doctrines is that nothing exists except God

<sup>2</sup> The actual word is وفاق which, the dictionary says, means consent, agreement, harmony, good understanding.

<sup>3</sup> The word is نفاق which, according to the dictionary, is hypocrisy. I have thought it best to translate it as enmity.

*karohs* to receive it, and for the person who carried the *farmān*, a platform was erected, and he stood on that, and the person to whom the *farmān* was addressed stood below it; and taking the *farmān* in his two hands placed it on his head. If the order was that it should be read out at that very place, the bearer conveyed the order; and it was read out at that very place; and if the order was that the *farmān* should be read in a *Masjid* near the pulpit this was done. If the *farmān* was specially for that person, or was written specially for him then it was read secretly to him.

Every day a diary containing prices (of commodities) and occurrences in the *parganas*, and provinces was submitted to the Sultân. If anything unpleasant even by a hair's breadth appeared, it was immediately made right. He was always engaged in settling disputes, and deciding cases, and in affairs of state, and in attending to the welfare of the people.

About the sharpness of his intellect and his genius, curious sayings are mentioned. Whatever was nearest the truth, and had the least exaggeration and hyperbole, that only I have ventured to narrate. Once on a time two brothers, who lived in Gwālīār, and who were in great straits and poverty, joined an army which was sent to attack a particular province. When the soldiers were engaged in plundering and destroying, a piece of gold and some pieces of coloured stuffs, and two valuable rubies fell into their hands. One of the two brothers said "our object has been gained, why should we endure more hardships; let us go home and live in comfort." The other said, "Ah brother, as at the very first time spoils such as these have fallen into our hands, perhaps on the next occasion, we will get something even better than this." The other said, "I won't go to any other place." Then they divided the spoils. The elder brother gave his share also to the other, so that he might

<sup>1</sup> The word in all the MSS. (except one which has *مقف*) and in the lith. edn. is *مقف*. I can not find any meaning of *مقف* or *مقف* which will go with the context. I think some kind of a platform was erected and the bearer of the *farmān* stood on it and the receiver of it below. (Cf. trans. of *Tar i Dāūdī*, Elliot, IV, 448, where it is said that a terrace was erected and the bearer stood on it and the receiver of the *farmān* stood below. It is also said in a note to this passage that this is a Tatār custom and prevails even now in China and some other Eastern countries.

make it over to his wife. That man returned home and made over all the spoils to his brother's wife except the ruby. After two years when his brother returned, and made inquiries, he found no trace of the ruby. He said "what about the ruby." His brother replied "I gave it to your wife." He said "she says it never reached her hand." He replied "she is telling an untruth she should be threatened a little." The man threatened his wife. She said "give me time for this night. I shall produce it tomorrow morning." Early in the morning she went to the house of <sup>1</sup> Miān Bhudah who was one of the great Amīrs and Sultān Sikandar's Chief Justice; and narrated all the circumstances to him. Mian Bhudah ordered her husband to appear with his brother; and when they came, questioned them. The brother of the woman's husband, said "I gave her the ruby also." Miān Bhudah said "Have you got any witness." He replied "yes." He was asked "who is he?" The man replied "they are two Brahmins." The miān said "produce them." The man went to a gambling house and paying something to two gamblers tutored them, as to the way in which they were to bear testimony. The men were dressed in clean garments and brought to the court. After they had given evidence, Miān Bhudah said to the husband of the woman "go and get the rubies from your wife with as much severity as you like." The woman came out of the place, went to the audience hall of the Sultān and prayed for justice. The Sultān called her, and asked her to explain the matter. The woman stated what had happened. The Sultān said "why did you not go to Miān Bhudah." She said "I did go, but he did not enquire as he should have done." The Sultān gave order, and all the parties were produced before him. He summoned all of them separately, gave to the husband of the woman and his brother a bit of wax and ordered that they should mould it in the form of the ruby. They made two exact facsimiles. Then he summoned the witnesses separately and gave them wax. Each of them made a different shape. Every one of the pieces of wax was preserved. The woman was then summoned

<sup>1</sup> This gentleman's name is given variously in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. as *میرزا*, *میرزا*, *میرزا*. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has *میرزا*. Col. Briggs has *Meean Bhoory*. I can't say whether the name occurs in *Badāoni*. It does not occur in the very copious index of Col. Ranking's translation.

and the Sultân said to her. "Do you also shape the wax in the form of the ruby?" The woman said "how can I make a thing which I have never seen." Although she was asked repeatedly, she did not agree. Then he addressed Mian Bhudah, and afterwards said to the witnesses, "If you will tell the truth your lives will be spared, but if you will not do so, you will be put to death." They then narrated the facts with truth. The brother of the woman's husband was also summoned, and threatened with condign punishment. He also now gave a truthful version of the incidents. The poor woman was now acquitted of the accusation<sup>1</sup>; and the great penetration and intelligence of the Sultân became patent to all.

He wrote even and simple Persian verse, and his poetical pseudonym was *Gulrukhi*. Sheikh Jamâl was one of his courtiers with whom he had much conversation. He wrote the following couplets as a memento of the Sultân:—

My garment is made of the dust of thy lane!  
That too is wet with the tears of my eyes!  
My sides are completely plumed with his arrows,  
Now will I fly to him of the bow-like brow!

<sup>2</sup> They say that once on a time the Sultân after doing his *namâz* was telling his beads. His major-domo was there. The Sultân made a sign to him meaning 'summon.' The major-domo did not understand it: and went out and said to Mian Bhudah. "The Sultân is telling his beads and signed to me to summon. I could not venture to ask him whom should I summon and now I have not the face to return. I can not go and attend on the Sultan; and I also do not know whom I shall take with me." Mian Bhudah asked him "In what direction was the Sultan's face and what was he looking at." He said "towards the door of the newly erected building." Mian Bhudah said "send for the mason and the carpenter and take them with you." The major-domo took the mason and the carpenter. The Sultân knowing that it was strange that he should understand his meaning;

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. have here, *برادر او را سباست نموده لعل او را دهانید*, i.e. and having punished her (should be her husband's) brother caused the ruby to be given to her.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of what follows is to be found in only one MS. and in the lith. edn. but not in the other MSS.



enquired "how did you know that I wanted these men?" The major-domo, replied "Miân Bhudah told me." The faith of the Sultân in Miân Bhudah's intelligence became stronger.

It is narrated that once on a time Sultân Sikandar said to Miân Bhudah who was his chief Judge and Vazîr "Frequently in my kingdom much<sup>1</sup> corruption occurs among my officers, and is the cause of the ruin of my subjects. My noble mind is frequently very anxious about it. If any remedy for it comes into your mind it would be a very good thing." Miân Bhudah represented to him. "It is very easy to remedy corruption, and it is this that your Majesty should hold one end of the chain, and give the other end to your slave and there will never be any more corruption. And in fact whenever any one is appointed to perform any service, he must be free from avarice otherwise corruption will not be eradicated."

SULTÂN IBRÂHÎM, SON OF SULTÂN SIKANDAR,  
SON OF SULTÂN BAHLOL LODI.

When Sultân Sikandar was united with the mercy of God, the high mighty and honoured position of the *saltanat* was settled with the consent of the Amîrs and the great officers of state on his<sup>2</sup> eldest son

<sup>1</sup> The word which I have translated as corruption appears to be *مالبه* Malbah. I have not been able to find the word in any dictionary and have translated it by the word corruption, as being most suited to the context.

<sup>2</sup> He was certainly not the eldest son. Sultân Sikandar's sons according to seniority of age were A'zam Humâiyûn, Jalâl, Ibrâhîm, Ismael and Husen. According to the *Târ-i-Salâtîn Afghâna* (Elliot, V, p. 7), the reason of his selection appears to have been this. Sultân Sikandar left two sons by one wife, Ibrâhîm and Jalâl. When the former grew up he became celebrated for his personal beauty and excellent disposition and the nobles determined to place him on the throne, to which he was raised on the 7th Zil-hijjah, 923 A.H. (Nov., 1517). As we have seen, however, Sultân Sikandar died on the 7th Zilqâdah, so the date given above is probably incorrect. The translator of the *Târ-i-S. A.* says in a note that the date of Sultân Ibrâhîm's accession according to the *M-i-A. Târ-i-K.J.L.* was the 8th Zilqâdah which is doubtless the correct date. Apparently the mothers of Sultân Sikandar's other sons were of inferior rank; and therefore Ibrâhîm and Jalâl succeeded him the former at Delhi and the latter for a time at Jaunpûr. The *Târ-i-Dâudî* (Ell., IV, p. 451) however gives a different list of Sultân Sikandar's sons. According to it they were six, in the following order of seniority, Ibrâhîm Khân, Jalâl Khân, Ismael Khân, Husen Khân, Mahmûd Khân and A'zam Humâiyûn.

Sultān Ibrāhīm, who was known and celebrated for the beauty of his intelligence and penetration, and his courage and praiseworthy moral qualities. <sup>1</sup> But because soldiers, and specially men of war and action, have for the sake of the proper arrangement of their affairs and the reputation and grandeur of their service and command, and the greatness of their retainers and equipages, always directed all their plans and endeavours to this, that the rule of government in the kingdom, and the passing of orders from a well established throne should not have great power and complete predominance, for this reason they decided that Sultān Ibrahīm should sit on the throne at Dehlī, and his rule should extend to the boundary of the kingdom of Jaunpūr; and that Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān should set on the *Masnā* of *Saltanat* at Jaunpūr, and should govern the territories on that side. But they did not know that sovereignty cannot be carried on in partnership, and two swords cannot be put into one scabbard. Couplet :

Two lives can never in one body exist :  
Nor two kings in one kingdom rule.

In short Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, turned towards Jaunpūr with the Amīr and the *Jāigīrdārs* of the *parganas* appertaining to it, and

<sup>1</sup> The reason given in the text for the establishment of a separate kingdom in Jaunpūr does not appear to be at all convincing, and apparently the author had to write a long-winded and involved sentence because he knew that his account was not at all convincing. Badāūnī gives no reason whatever. The extracts from other histories in Elliot, are also silent. The *Tarī* S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 7) says the nobles and pillars of the state then gave Ibrahim's brother by the same mother, the title of Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn and sent him with many officers and a large army to take charge of the kingdom of Jaunpūr; but gives no reason whatever for this action on their part. The only satisfactory reason is to be found in Ferishtah, according to whom, Ibrahim gave great umbrage to the great Lodi and other Afghan Chiefs by declaring immediately after his accession, that there should be no distinction among officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and by saying publicly that kings should have no relations, or clansmen; but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the state and the Afghan Chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them. So they conspired together and leaving Ibrahim in possession of Delhi and a few dependant provinces raised Jalāl Khān on the throne of Jaunpūr. (See Briggs's Ferishtah, Vol. I, pp. 590-91.)

being firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, appointed A'zam Humāyūn Sharwānī to be his agent and minister (*vakil wa peshwā*). At this time Khān Jahān Lohānī came from Rāpri to the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and spoke with rebuke and derision to the Vazīrs and Vakīls, and said that it was a great error, and a manifest blunder to have a divided sovereignty and rule; and <sup>1</sup> the acceptance of this appeared to be remote from wisdom. At last the officers of State endeavouring to remedy it (i.e. their own error) thought it advisable, that as up to that time Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān had not acquired power and stability, he should be summoned to Dehli. They sent Haibat Khān <sup>2</sup> Gurg-andāz to summon him; and a *farmān* couched in gracious and kind language was sent to the effect, that a matter of importance had to be discussed, and that he should come with a light retinue, by forced marches. When Haibat Khān, arrived at the court of the Shāhzādah, although he tried various forms of coaxing and flattery and deception, the Shāhzādah's suspicion of their deception and treachery became all the stronger and he did not consent to return; and giving <sup>3</sup> soft replies, passed the time by employing tricks and evasions. Haibat Khān sent a representation to the Sultān explaining all this. The Sultān sent <sup>4</sup> Shaikhzādah Muḥammad, son of Sheikh Sa'id Farmūlī, and Malik Ismā'īl, son of Malik 'Alā-ud-dīn Jilwānī and Qāzī Majd-ud-dīn Hejāb (chamberlain). Their blandishments had no effect also, and the Shāhzādah did not return. After that, after consultation with the wise men and the philosophers of the age, *farmāns* were sent to the

<sup>1</sup> This clause appears to be incorrect. It is given in the MSS. (except one which substitutes عقل wisdom for عقلا wise men which I certainly consider better and have adopted) و قبول اینمعنی از عقلا (عقل) دور نبود.

<sup>2</sup> The circumstances under which Haibat Khān slew two wolves with one arrow from his bow and which earned him this honorary surname is given in the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 33.)

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. (except one which has ناملایم harsh) and Ferishtah, who follows the Tabaqāt pretty closely, have ملایم soft.

<sup>4</sup> There are slight differences in the names of the emissaries. One MS. and the lith. edn. has مقبل after ججلب one MS. calls ملک اسمعیل پسر ملک زکوة. Ferishtah adds the name of سعید حجاب Sa'id Hijāb after the other names.

Amīrs and rulers of those territories; and to each one of these a separate purport, and favour and a different hint and suggestion, suited to his rank and condition and hereditary status was indicated. The purport of these *farmāns* was this, that they should abstain and refrain from allegiance to and association with Shāh-zādah Jalāl Khān, should not attend at his court, and should not accept service under him. To some of the Amīrs who had large forces in those parts and had thirty and forty thousand retainers, such as Dariyā Khān Lohānī, ruler of the province of Behar, and Nasir Khān ruler of Ghāzīpūr, and Shāikh-zādah Muhammad Farmulī, who held Oudh, and <sup>1</sup> Lakhnau, and others, a special trusted agent was sent with a special robe of honour and a horse and other <sup>2</sup> favours. When these *farmāns* reached them, they all turned from their allegiance to the Shāh-zādah and became hostile to him.

At this time the <sup>3</sup> Sultān had a throne placed in the *Dewān-khānah*, adorned and encrusted with fine gems. He sat on it on Friday, the 15th of the month of Zilhijjah, in the year 923 A.H. (1517 A.D.) and held a great court. He conferred on the servants of the palace, and the officers of state and all military officers, robes of honour, and belts for swords and for daggers, and horses and elephants and high offices and ranks, and *Jāgīrs* (fiefs) according to the rank and status of each. Verse:

If thou wouldst power and greatness and honour have,  
 Make captive the hearts of thy friends with favours and grace.  
 By that did Kāūs gain mastery over his foes,  
 That he a Rustam had his behests to do.  
 Make thy soldier, in battle strong by favours great,  
 For e'en a lion <sup>4</sup> falls, in battle with a slayer of men.

<sup>1</sup> Two of the MSS. and the lith. edn. has لکھنوی Lakhnautī, and one MS. has لکھنور. لکھنو is the correct reading. Ferishtah has لکھنو.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishtah has کمر خنجر, belt with dagger, among the presents in addition to the robe of honour and the horse.

<sup>3</sup> It is curious that according to the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot V, p. 9) Shāh-zādah Jalāl Khān did exactly similar things on the same date. I wonder whether the translator has by mistake attributed Ibrāhīm's doings to Jalāl.

<sup>4</sup> All the MSS. have ادینگ, a lion comes, which does not make sense. The lith. edn. has افتد یلنگ, a lion falls, which I have adopted.

And he cast anew <sup>1</sup> rings of obedience in their ears ; and made them bound and grateful to him afresh by favours and kindnesses. He made the great and the common people pleased and conformable to him. He opened the doors of beneficence on *faqīrs*, and the poor, and increased their subsistence allowances, and stipends and gratuities and grants, and sent offerings and presents to those who sat in seclusion, and placed their reliance on God. He conferred new glory to the acts of greatness and sovereignty ; and the affairs of state became stronger and more stable.

<sup>2</sup> When Shāhzadah Jalāl Khān saw these acts of the Sultān, and the hostility of the *amīrs* of those districts, he left Jaunpūr and came to Kālpi, and knew that there was no time now left for negotiation and evasion with Sultān Ibrāhīm, and publicly assumed an attitude of hostility, and in consultation with those who were united with him, gave up all hope of the territory of Jaunpūr, and establishing himself at Kālpi, had the Khutbah (public prayer) and Sikkah (coins) in his own name, and assumed the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn and devoted himself to the task of looking after his retainers and soldiers and the improvement of his accoutrements, and gun factories, and the pacification of the Rājās and Zamindārs of the surrounding parganas, and became stronger and more powerful. He then advanced towards ‘Āzam Humāyūn <sup>3</sup> Sarwānī, who with a large force was besieging the fort of ‘Kālīnjar ; and sent men to him with the following message : “ You are like a father or an uncle to me, and you know that I have committed no fault, and the breach of promise has been from the side of Sultān Ibrāhīm. The small portion of territory and wealth

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the custom of having rings placed on holes bored through the lobes of the ear of slaves.

<sup>2</sup> Ferishta follows our author pretty closely. Badāonī is however brief and has a somewhat different account. He says *فرا بمن بنام امرای حدود شرقیه صادر شد که جلال خانرا گرفته بدرگاه آرند، و او از جونیپور به الپی آمده ..... بسطان جلال الدین مغالط گشت* i.e. *Farmāns* were issued addressed to the amīrs of the Eastern provinces, that they should seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court; and he coming from Jaunpūr to Kālpi .... assumed the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> *شروانی* according to some manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> According to some MSS. *کلینجر* Kālīnjar.

which he had decided to allot to me as my inheritance, on that also he has shut his eyes; and has torn asunder the tie of alliance, and broken the bond of affection; it behoves you that you should not abandon the side of justice, and should help the oppressed party." As in fact A'zam Humāyūn had ill-feeling towards Sultān Ibrāhīm, and the poverty and broken fortunes, and softness of Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn had affected him, and also as he saw that he had not the power to fight with and oppose the Shāhzadah (i.e. Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn), he gave up the siege of the fort of Kālinjar and has'ened to attend on Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn. After strong engagements and promises, they decided, that they should first obtain possession of the territory of Jaunpūr and the adjoining districts, and then think of other things. In conformity with this resolution, they advanced by forced marches against Sa'id Khān, son of Muhrak Khān Lodi, who held the province of Oudh. He not being able to withstand them, withdrew to Lakhnau, and sent a representation containing a true account of the state of affairs to Sultan Ibrāhīm.

Sultān Ibrāhīm determined that he should with some chosen troops proceed to crush this revolt. At this time, in consultation with his well-wishers, he ordered that some of his <sup>1</sup> brothers who had been imprisoned, such as Shāhzadah Isma'il Khān and Husen Khān, and Mahmūd Khān, and Shāhzadah Sheikh Daulat Khān should be conveyed to the fort of Hansi, and should be kept well-guarded there; and for attendance on each of these, two <sup>2</sup> trustworthy servants

<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have برادران و خویشان brothers and relatives. Badāonī only names Isma'il Khān and Husen Khān and adds others. Ferishtah in the lith. edn., which I have, copies the Tabaqāt closely, but when he comes to the names he says that Isma'il Khān, Husen Khān and Mahmūd Khān were made over to Daulat Khān. Col. Briggs says generally that Ibrāhīm confined his other brothers in the fort of Hansi. On further consideration I think that Ferishtah may be right, though the sentence is not quite complete in any of the MSS. or in the lith. edn. If this view is correct then the translation would be "He ordered Shāhzadah Shaikh Daulat Khān that he should convey some of his (that is the Sultan's) brothers who had been imprisoned, such as Shāhzadah Isma'il Khān, etc., to the fort of Hānsī and keep them well-guarded there."

<sup>2</sup> The word used in the MSS. and in the lith. edn. and in Ferishtah is حرم. Badāonī has حرم دو دو خدمتگار از اهل حرم, which Col. Ranking translates 'two servants from the private establishment.' I prefer two servants from his harem or seraglio.

were appointed, and also fixed allowances for their food and garments and other necessities. On Thursday the 24th of the month of Zi-hijjah 923 A.H. (8th February 1518 A.D.) the Sultan's standards turned towards the east and by forced marches the army reached Bhongāon. From that place it started towards Kanauj. On the way news came that Ā'zam Humāyūn with his wise son Fateh Khān had turned his face from Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān, and was coming to attend on the Sultān. This good news gave great courage and strength of heart to the Sultan. When Ā'zam Humāyūn arrived near, Sultān Ibrāhīm sent most of the Amīrs to welcome him, and highly exalted him with royal favours.

At this time <sup>1</sup> Mānchand, Zamīndār of Jartoli, one of the dependencies of pargana Kol which is a celebrated <sup>2</sup> Mawās, had fought with 'Umar, son of Sikandar Sūr and had raised him to martyrdom (i.e. slain him); and Malik Qāsim, governor of Sambal, who had attacked and defeated and slain that rebel, and had thus put an end to this unforeseen disturbance, came to Kanauj, where the Sultān was encamped, and offered him his services. Most of the Amīrs and *Jāigīrdārs* of Jaunpūr such as Sa'id Khān, and others came to attend on the Sultān and were enrolled in the band of his well-wishers. At this time (the Sultān) deputed Ā'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī and <sup>3</sup> Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi and Nasīr Khān Lohānī and others with an immense army and elephants of 'gigantic size against Shāhzādah Jalāl Khān. The latter was at this time at Kālpi. Before the above-named Amīrs could arrive there, he left N'amat Khātun and the followers of Qutb Khān Lodi, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and Malik Badr-ud-dīn and his dependents with a body of men in the fort of Kālpi, and himself turned towards the metropolis of Agra with thirty thousand horsemen and some elephants. The army of Sultān Ibrāhīm besieged Kālpi and some days were spent in

<sup>1</sup> This name is given as خان, Khān, خانچند, Khānchand, مانچند, Mānchand and مالچند, Mālchand in the MSS. and the lith. edn. Ferishtah has جیچند Jaichand. The *Tār-i-K.J.L.* (Elliot, V, p. 104) does not give any names but says a body of the Zamīndārs of Jartoli.

<sup>2</sup> Mawās is a district in the Doāb.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah calls him Az'am Khān Lodi.

<sup>4</sup> The actual word used is ازدمای بیکر, of the size of great serpents.

warfare with cannon and muskets. At last the garrison found itself too weak to oppose the Sultân's forces, and the fort was captured by the latter. The city was ravaged and much plunder fell into the hands of the soldiers.

The Sultân sent with great quickness <sup>1</sup> Malik Âdam with a well-equipped army to defend Agra. Shâhzâdah Jalâl Khân reached the neighbourhood of Agra, and wanted in revenge of Kâlpi to ravage Agra. At this time Malik Âdam arrived in Agra, and having softened Jalâl Khân with sweet words, which were agreeable to his disposition, persuaded him to keep the sack of Agra in suspense, till Malik Isma'el, son of 'Alâ-ud-dîn Jitwâni, and Kabir Khân Lodi and Bahâr Khân Lohâni and some other amirs with a large army arrived, following at his heels, and Malik Âdam gained much strength.

<sup>2</sup> After that he sent a message to Jalâl Khân, that giving up all absurd desires and ambitions, he should resign the Chatar (royal umbrella), Âftabgir (sun-umbrella) naubat (large kettle drum) and Naqqârah (kettle drum) and other marks and paraphernalia of royalty, and conduct himself like the amirs, so that he (Malik Âdam) may make a representation to the Sultân, for pardoning his error; and the *Sarkâr* of Kâlpi may as before remain as his *Jûigîr*. Jalâl Khân having agreed to these conditions gave up the paraphernalia of royalty. Couplet:

None can, with bragging, take his seat on the seats of the great,  
Till he has got all the necessaries of greatness ready.

Malik Âdam took charge of the royal umbrella, and the sun umbrella and the kettle drum, and sent them to the Sultân, who had returned from Kanouj and arrived in Itâwah. The things with

<sup>1</sup> He is called Malik Âdam in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. and in Ferishtah, but Badsoni calls him Malik Âdam Kâkar. He is also called Malik Âdam Kâkar in the *Târ-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* (Elliot, V, p. 11) though the translator in the text calls him Malik Âdam Ghakkar, but says in a note that it is there written as Kâkar.

<sup>2</sup> All this agrees with the *Târ-i-S.A.* (Elliot, V, p. 12). The English equivalents of Âftabgir and Naubat are not given. The author of the *Târ-i-S.A.* says that Jalâl Khan like a coward agreed to the conditions, although his chiefs tried to dissuade him, and pointed out the probable evil consequences of his action. Badsoni and Ferishtah also agree, the latter almost verbatim.



Malik Ādam's representation was produced before him, but he did not agree to the proposed treaty with Jalāl Khān and directed his attention to the destruction of Jalāl Khān. The latter, on hearing this news, took shelter with the Rājā of Gwāliār.

The Sultān remained in Agra, and the affairs of State which after the death of Sultān Sikandar had been shaken, became stable and firm. The amīrs who had been hostile, asked for pardon, and returned loyally to their allegiance. After that <sup>1</sup>Haibat Khān Gurg-āndāz and Karimdād Taugh and Daulat Khān Indar were sent to look after and guard Dehli; and <sup>2</sup>Shaikhzādah Manjhu was appointed to take charge of and protect the fort of Chanderi and to be the Peshwa (guardian or minister) of Shāhizādah Muḥammad Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mālwi.

In course of time the heart of the <sup>3</sup>Sultān turned from Miān Bhudah, who had been one of the great Amīrs and the *Vazīr* of Sultān Sikandar, but who confident of his former services, began to neglect to seek for the wishes of the Sultān, till things came to such a point that he was imprisoned and put in chains, and placed in charge of

<sup>1</sup> These names are not to be found in Badāoni, who does not mention anybody having been sent to guard Dehli and Chanderi. The Tār-i-S.A. says Karimdād Khān Tāgh with other 'umara were sent to take charge of Dehli. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) gives the same names as in the text, only he calls Daulat Khān Indar, Daulat Khān Indarāya. About this last name the MSS. vary. One and the lith. edn. has Indar. Another has ایدار, Aidār, while the others omit Daulat Khān and add a دَار dār to Tāgh. Col. Briggs says two nobles Karimdād Khān Tarak and Daulat Khān were sent to take charge of Dehli.

<sup>2</sup> This name does not occur in Badāuni or in the Tār-i-S.A. Ferishtah (lith. edn.) has Sheikh Machhu but as all the MSS. and the lith. edn. of the Tabaqāt has Shaikhzādah Manjhu. I have retained that name. Col. Briggs calls him Shaikhzādah Muḥammad Farḥull.

<sup>3</sup> The reason of the Sultān's displeasure against his father's *Vazīr*, as given by our author, was that the latter confident of his former services, did not care to seek for and act according to his wishes. In this Ferishtah follows him Badāoni gives no reason whatever. The Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 13) gives a different reason. He says that after the conquest of Gwāliār, the Sultān became very proud and began to maltreat and punish the nobles of his father, and he imprisoned Miān Bhudah, who had for twenty-eight years been the absolute minister of his father.

Malik Ādam. The Sultān however pardoned his son and conferring honours on him put him in his father's position. <sup>1</sup> Miān Bhudah died while he was still in prison.

At this time it entered the mind of the Sultān that as Sultān Sikandar had always intended to conquer Gwālīār, and the remaining fortresses and cities of those districts, and repeatedly led his armies, but had never succeeded in gaining his object, if good fortune guided him and victory led him, he might, with kinglike determination, conquer Gwālīār and all the territories appertaining to it. With this object he sent Āzām Humāyūn Sarwānī, the governor of the districts of Karra with thirty thousand horsemen and three hundred elephants to conquer Gwālīār. When Āzam Humāyūn reached the neighbourhood of Gwālīār, Shahzādah Jalāl Khān leaving that place went towards Mālwa <sup>2</sup> to Sultān Mahmūd. About this time <sup>3</sup> Bhikhan Khān, son of Ālam Khān Lodī, and Jalāl Khān Lodī, and Suleimān Fārmulī, and Bahādur Khān Lohānī and Bahādur Khān Sarwānī, and Isma'ol, son of Malik Firoz Aghwān, and Khizr Khān Lohānī, and Khizr Khān, brother of Bhikhan Khān Lodī and Khān-i-Jahan, were deputed with an immense army

<sup>1</sup> The Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 14) has a story about Miān Bhudah and Islam Khān and some other amīrs. They were asked by the Sultān to go into a room and have a consultation there. They did so without any suspicion but the vault under the room had been filled with gunpowder; and they were all blown up and were scattered as leaves of trees in a gale of wind. The translator says in a note that this barbarous gun powder plot is not mentioned by any other historian, but he says that Miān Bhudah and some other nobles were in the end privately assassinated. In support of his statement he says that the author of the Tār-i-D. contradicts himself, saying in one place that he died in prison and in another that he was murdered. I have not seen any passage which says that he was murdered, though it is quite possible that he was.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn., with minor verbal differences the Tār-i-S.A. and Ferishtah agree in this. Ferishtah however, calls the King of Malwah Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī.

<sup>3</sup> These names occur, with minor differences, in all the MSS. and in the lith. edn. I have not found them in any other history. Even Ferishtah who generally gives details which are not to be found elsewhere confines himself with *و متعاقب او هشت نفر از امرای عمده با لشکر عظیم و چند رنجبر بیل بکک کرد* and after him (the Sultān) appointed eight of the chief nobles with a great army and some elephants to re-inforce him.

and some elephants to reinforce Āzam Humāyūm, and to besiege Gwālīar and conquer that territory. It so happened that at this time Rājā Mān, the ruler of Gwālīar, who had been distinguished above all his peers and neighbours for bravery and liberality, and had contended for years with the Sultāns of Delhi, <sup>1</sup> had died and his son Rāy <sup>2</sup> Bikramājīt having succeeded him had made great exertions in strengthening the fortress. The Amirs of Sultān Ibrāhīm in accordance with his orders had erected a palace and every day assembled there, and attended to all matters of importance and made all efforts and endeavours to carry on the siege. It so happened, however, that Rājā Mān <sup>3</sup> had erected a lofty building below the fort which surrounded the latter and was very strong, and was called <sup>4</sup> Bādalgārh. After a considerable time, the Sultān's soldiers excavated mines and filled them with gun-powder and set fire to it, and the walls of the fort having been blown down, they entered it, and that place was conquered. At that place they found a <sup>5</sup> brazen bull, which the Hindus had for years worshipped. In accordance with the

<sup>1</sup> The author of the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 13) speaking of the death of Rājā Mān "says had departed to the infernal regions." The translator says in a note that the mode of expression, however common, sounds more than usually ungracious and intolerant in this particular instance, as the Makhzan-i-Afghānī, (MS., p. 130) and the Tār-i-K.J.L. (MS., p. 144) represent Rājā Mān as only externally a Hindu and in heart inclined towards Islām. Not having access to the MSS. referred to I cannot say whether this view of Rājā Mān's religious views is correct, but he appears by all accounts to have been a brave and generous ruler. Ferishtah merely paraphrases the Tabaqāt, one MS. of Badāonī has گذشتن, passing away, and the text کشتن, slaying, in respect of the death of Rājā Mān.

<sup>2</sup> A corrupt form of the Sanskrit Vikramāditya.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is not very clear. The passage runs اتفاقاً در زیر قلعه راجه مان عمارت ساخته بر دوران قلعه متین پرداخته استعکام داده مسمی بادل گره گردانیده بود. There are some slight differences in the readings, but the above may be taken as correct.

<sup>4</sup> Col. Ranking says that this Bādalgārh should be distinguished from another fort of the same name. On looking up his reference I find that the other fort was not Bādalgārh but Badalgārh, and is merely another name of the citadel of Agra.

<sup>5</sup> The translator of the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 13) calls it a copper bull out of whose mouth a voice issued (!) and that it was carried to the

orders of the Sultān that brazen bull was taken to Dehli, and placed at the Bāghdād gate. Up to the reign of the Hazrat Khalifah Ilāhī (the emperor Akbar) that bull was at the gate of Dehli. The writer of this history has seen it

In short, at that time Sultān Ibrāhīm lost all faith in the old amīrs of his father, and he imprisoned most of the great Khāns (nobles). At this time also, Shāh-zādah Jalāl Khān who had gone from Gwālīār to Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi, but not having received proper treatment from him, had fled from him; and gone to the country of <sup>1</sup>Kara Katinka and there he was taken prisoner by a band of Gonds. They sent him under guard to Sultān Ibrāhīm. The latter sent him to the fort of Hansī, and on the way he was sent to martyrdom. Verse:

The *sharbat* of power and pomp is so sweet,  
That kings thirsting for it, shed their brother's blood;  
Don't for power shed the blood of the heart-broken;  
For thee, the same draught into the cup, they will pour.

After some time Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī and his son Faleh Khān, who were besieging Gwālīār, and had nearly captured the fort, came to Agra in compliance with the order of the Sultān and the latter ordered them to be imprisoned. On account of this Islam Khān, the son of Āzam Humāyūn, who was in Karaḥ having revolted, took possession of the property and equipage of his father; and refusing to give possession to Ahmad Khān who had been appointed to be the administrator of that place, commenced enlisting troops and collecting a force. Ahmad Khān fought with him and was defeated. Sultān Ibrāhīm hearing this, wanted to remedy this and send an army; when all of a sudden Āzam Humāyūn and

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fort of Agra where it remained until the time of the Emperor Akbar, who caused it to be melted down for the purpose of making cannon. Badāonī text has منوری زوین a brazen figure, but both MSS. A and B have منوری زوین a brazen animal. Col. Ranking instead of quoting the *Tabāqat* about this, quotes *Ferishtah* who only gives a paraphrase of the former. Badāonī and *Ferishtah* however adds one new fact namely that the bull was sent by the Amīrs to Agra, and was thence sent by the Sultān to Delhi.

<sup>1</sup> The name is so given in several of the MSS, and in the lith. edn. In other MSS. the name is not quite distinctly written. Badāonī has Kara Kankah. The *Tār-i-S.A.* has Garra Kantak. *Ferishtah* has Rājah Garh.

Sa'id Khān Lodi, who were among the great nobles fled from his (i.e., the Sultān's) army, and went to Lucknow, which was their *Jāigir*, and began to fan the flame of rebellion and disturbance. Sultān Ibrāhīm deputed <sup>1</sup> Āhmad Khān brother of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi, and the sons of Husen Farmult and Majlis 'Alī Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmult, 'Alī Khān Khān-i-Khānan Farmult, and Majlis 'Alī Bhikhārī Farmult, and Dilawar Khān, son of Āhmad Khān, and Sārang Khān, and Qutb Khān, son of Ghāzi Khān Jalwānī and Bhikhān Khān Lohānī, and Sikandar son of Ādam Kākar and others like them with an enormous army to attack them. When they reached the neighbourhood of the town of Bāngarmāu, near Kanouj, Iqbāl Khān <sup>2</sup> belonging to the tribe of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi with 5,000 horsemen and some elephants came suddenly out of ambush, fell on them and having wounded and killed a large number and put the army in great disorder, left.

When this news reached the Sultān, he wrote many words of reproach to the Amīrs, and sent orders to them, that as long as they would not recover that territory from the possession of the rebels, they would be in the ranks of the accursed and the rejected; and as a matter of precaution sent another body of Amīrs and Khāns with an immense army to reinforce them. On the side of the rebels, also, there were collected 40,000 well-armed horsemen and 500 elephants. When the two sides approached each other and the battle was about to commence, Shaikh <sup>3</sup> Rajū Bukhārī who was the

<sup>1</sup> There are some differences about these names in the different MSS. and in the lith. edn. I have taken what appeared to me to be a correct list. It is very curious that some of the names are extremely hybrid such as Majlis Alī Bhikhārī Farmult and Bhikan Khān Lohani. No other historian, as far as I know, has given these names. Badaonī says Sultān Ibrāhīm despatched Āhmad Khān, brother Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi, in command of a vast army. The Tār-i-S.A. only says that the Sultān despatched another army. Ferishta, who is generally so prolific in details, says merely *دیگر لشکر بمک ایشان فرستاد*, i.e. sent another army to reinforce them.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. and the lith. edn. say *خاصه خیل*. Badaonī says *خاص خیل*. Col. Ranking calls him the chief cavalry commander under Ā'zam Humāyūn. Ferishta calls him *غلام*, slave, of Ā'zam Humāyūn Lodi. Some of the MSS. and the lith. edn. have omitted Ā'zam before Humāyūn Lodi.

<sup>3</sup> One or two of the MSS. the lith. edn. and Ferishta (lith. edn.) call him

chief or leader of that age came between, and stopping the two sides sought to guide the rebels with lofty precepts, and noble sermons. They, after making many excuses, submitted that if the Sultān would release Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī, they would withhold their hands from his dominions and from hostility against him, and would go away to some other kingdom. When this proposal reached the Sultān, it did not meet with his approval, and he sent orders to Dariyā Khān Lohānī, the governor of Behār and Nastr Khān Lohānī and Shaikhzādah Muhammad Farmult, that they should advance from that direction against the rebels, and put down the rebellion.

When those troops arrived from that direction, the rebels, in their pride, felt no anxiety about the greatness of the Sultān's destiny, and the strength of his army, and began the battle; and the well-arranged troops of the two sides met in dire conflict, and shed such streams of blood, that the eye of the age become blind and dark on beholding it. At last as the result of revolt and ingratitude is evil, and is never of good omen Islām Khān the rebel was slain; and Said Khān Lodi was taken prisoner by the troops of Dariyā Khān Lohānī. The revolt was crushed and the wealth and the territory of the rebels all came into the possession of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Verse:

Do not like clouds be thou to thy benefactor ingrate;

They get their riches from the sea and yet shoot arrows at its breast.

Even like the river, make gratitude thy habit,

It gives to the cloud an ocean without getting a drop of rain.

The Sultān on hearing this news was very much elated.<sup>2</sup> But as a matter of fact, as the hatred for the Amirs had not left the heart

شیخ راجری بخاری. Badāonī does not mention him or his intervention. The Tār-i-S.A. calls him Shaikh Rājū.

<sup>1</sup> All the historians, Badāonī, the author of the Tār-i-S.A. as well as our author moralise about the ingratitude of the rebels, but they have no word of reproach for the tyranny and barbarity of the Sultan. Ferishta as usual copies the Tabaqāt almost word for word.

<sup>2</sup> The Tabaqāt and Badāonī and Ferishta agree mainly but the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 16) contains an account of a battle between the Rajputs under Rānā Sānkā and the Sultān's troops under Mian Mākhan whom he had appointed commander-in-chief superseding older and braver commanders. It also gives a circumstantial account of the murder of Āzam Humāyūn. It also

of the Sultān, and the disagreement of his disposition with the Amīrs, and their open and concealed hostility for him had gone beyond all limit, and many of the amīrs and Malīks such Mīān Bhudāh, and Āzam Humāyūn Sarwānī, who was the Amīr-ul-Umara, had died while under imprisonment by order of the Sultān. Daryā Khān Lohānī, governor of Behar, and Khān Jahān Lodī, and Mīān Hasan Farmulī, and others, like them, from the fear and trepidation, which had overwhelmed them, turned their heads from allegiance to the Sultān, and raised the standard of hostility. It so happened, that at this time, Mīan Husen Farmulī was killed at Chanderi by some low Shaikh-zādahs of that place, at the instigation of the Sultān; and this became a more serious cause of the hatred of the Amīrs for the Sultān.

After some time Daryā Khān Lohānī died, and his son Bahādur Khān, turning from the Sultān, and <sup>1</sup> having determined to follow a particular course, sat in his father's place; and the Amīrs who had revolted from the Sultān, joined him, and they collected about a *lakh* of horsemen in the territory of Behār and took possession of that country as far as Sambal, and assuming the title of Sultān Muḥammad had his name inserted in the public prayer and in the coins he caused to be struck. At this time Nasir Khān Lohānī, the governor of Ghāzi-pūr being defeated by the Sultāns' troops went to him; and for <sup>2</sup> some months in the territory of Behār and its dependencies, public prayers were read in his name; and during this time he fought several battles with the troops of the Sultān, and shewed himself to be his equal.

It so happened that <sup>3</sup> the son of Daulat Khān Lodī, came from

says that the murderers of Mīān Husen Farmulī or as he is there called Husen Khān were rewarded with 700 gold pieces and ten villages in Inām. The Tār-i-S.A. also calls the son of Daryā Khān Lohānī Shāhbaz Khān. It appears from a note to the translation of this history (Elliot, V, p. 22) that some historians call him Bihār Khān, but he is more generally called Bahādur Khān.

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. have *یکروند شده* which literally means having turned his face in one direction. I think I have succeeded in conveying the meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Badāoni says *چند گاه* for sometime. According to a note to the trans. of the Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, V, p. 22) the Wāsiqāt-i-Mushtāqī says that *khubah* was read in his name for two years and some months.

<sup>3</sup> The Tār-i-S.A. (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 23) says that he was Daulat Khān's youngest son and his name was Dilāwar Khān. It goes on to say that

Lahore to attend on the Sultân. But he became suspicious of the latter and fled to his father. As Daulat Khân did not see that he could in any way escape from the wrath of the Sultân and severe punishment, he went to Kābul and sought the protection of Hazrat Firdus Makāni (His majesty the Dweller in Paradise) Bābar Bādshāh and brought the latter to invade India. On the way Daulat Khân died, and in Behar, Sultân Muhammad also died. Although the requisites for the conquest of Hindustān, and the necessary counsels and plans were all arranged, His majesty the Bādshāh mainly relying on the help of God fought with Sultân Ibrāhīm in the vicinity of Pānīpat, and the latter was defeated; and he and a number of the amīrs were slain on the field of battle. The sovereignty of Hindustān passed away from the dynasty of the Lodi Afghans to this auspicious family. The reign of Sultân Ibrāhīm extended over 7 years and a few months.

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Daulat Khân sent him to Bābar in Kabul and Bābar prayed to God that if he was destined to conquer, God would send him pan leaves and mangoes, which according to him were the choicest products of India, as a sign. It so happened that Daulat Khân had sent some half ripe mangoes preserved in pots of honey and betel leaves, by the hand of Ahmad Khân, and Dilawar Khân presented these. Bābar at once prostrated himself to offer thanks to God, and determined to invade India. This account makes no mention of the petition sent by the nobles by the hand of 'Ālam Khān Lodi as mentioned by our author and Badāonī, and the Tār-i-K.J. Lodi (Elliot, Vol. V, p. 100). Ferishta as far as I can make out does not give the name of 'Ālam Khān Lodi. He says Daulat Khān sent a trustworthy person to Bābar at Kābul





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## FIRST VOLUME

### OF THE

## TABAQĀT-I-AKBARI.

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- Amīr Mas'ūd, people want him, p. 18; receives homage at Nishāpūr; comes to Hirāt; goes to Balkh, p. 19; comes to Ghaznīn; makes Khwāja Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad 'Abdus Samed his minister; invades India in 424 A.H.; attacks the fort of Sarasti in Kaashmīr, p. 20; seizes the fort, obtains much booty; takes measures against Turkmāns, p. 21, invades Hindustan; takes Hānai and Pānīpat, p. 22; goes to Balkh; advances to Māwar-un-nahr; comes to Balkh in pursuit of Dāūd, p. 23; takes measures against 'Ali Tandari; agreement with Turkmāns; trouble with Turkmāns; goes to Nishāpūr; further trouble with the Turkmāns, p. 24; goes to Merv rejoined by some of his troops and comes to Ghaznīn by way of Qhūr, p. 25; punishes the rebels; sends Amīr Maudūd, to Balkh, p. 25; sends Amīr Muhammad to Multan; his slaves (or guards) attack him and have his head cut off, p. 26.
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- Amīr Muhammad, son of Mahmūd p. 17; succeeds; people turned to Mas'ūd, p. 18; was deposed after a rule of five months; imprisoned in the fort of Zaleh, p. 19; sent to Multan by Amīr Mas'ūd, p. 26; defeated and killed by Amīr Maudūd, p. 27.

Ānandpal, son of Jaipāl; opposes Mahmūd in his journey to Multān; is defeated by him, and retires to the mountains of Kashmir; defeated again in 399 by S. Mahmūd, p. 6; offers 50 elephants to Mahmūd on his leaving him alone, (see also note 2, p. 2.); offer rejected and Mahmūd plunders Thānessar, p. 7.

Ārām Shāh Sultān, ascends the throne, p. 60; defeated by Malik Altamah, p. 61.

Aralān Shāh, imprisons his brothers, except one who goes to Sultān Sanjār in Khurāsān, p. 33; defeated by Sultān Sanjār; retires to Hindustan, p. 34.

Asad-ud-dīn Malik, cousin of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, conspires to murder Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh; is put to death by S. K. M. Sh., p. 195.

## B

Bachgotis, a tribe of Rajputs, p. 359, (see also n. 2).

Bahā-ud-dīn Tughral, Sultān, one of the slaves of Sultān Muizz-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh of Ghazni, takes up his residence in the country of Bīṣnah; tries to capture Gwālīār; hostility with Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn Aibak; death, p. 49.

Bahira, Raja of Bhātīah, p. 5; is surrounded by Mahmūd's army, stabs himself and dies, p. 6.

Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderi; renounces his allegiance to Sultān Mahmūd Mālvi and becomes a subject of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, p. 381.

Bahlol Lodi Sultān (see Malik Bahlol Lodi).

Bahlol Lodi Malik, (becomes afterwards Sultān Bahlol Lodi, attacks Sultān Mahmūd Khān's retiring army; made governor of Dībālpūr

and Lahor; is sent against Jaarat Khokhar, who makes peace with him and gives him the hope of his becoming Sultān of Dehli, p. 326; begins collecting men, takes possession of some *parganas* in his neighbourhood, marches to Dehli, returns without doing anything, 329; comes to Dehli again, assumes the title of Sultān Bahlol; early history, p. 332; story of his visit to a *darwish* in Sāmānah, p. 333; in possession of Sirhind; fights with Sultān Mahmūd Mālvi; is made Khān-i Khānān; takes forcible possession of Lahore and Dībālpūr; advances on Dehli, is unable to take it, goes back to Sirhind, p. 334; advances again to Dehli but goes back to Sirhind, p. 335; his character; shows consideration and gentleness to Hamīd Khān who was then very powerful, p. 338; Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn abdicates in his favour, keeping only Badā'īn for himself, p. 339; marches to Multan, p. 340; Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī advances to Dehli, returns from Dībālpūr and encamps at Nalira; his troops capture some camels, etc., of Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī's army, p. 340; obtains great power and various chiefs submit to him; S.M.Sh. again attacks him; peace settled, p. 341; orders Jūna Khān to march out of Shamsābād as previously arranged; makes Shamsābād over to Rāy Karan; S. M. Sh. again attacks him, p. 342; marches towards Jaunpūr to attack him 343-344; makes peace with Sultān Husain; receives presents from him, p. 345; marches towards Shamsābād and takes it from Jūnā Khān and makes it over to Rāy Karan, p. 345-346; marches towards Multan, p. 346.

marches against Miwāh; meets Sultān Husain near the town of Bhatwārāh, p. 347; makes peace with Sultān Husain; again attacks his army and takes possession of some *parganas*, p. 349; again makes peace with S. H., defeats S. H. at Sonpūr; becomes more powerful; again attacks and defeats S. H.; attacks Itāwah and takes it; skirmish between him and S. H., p. 351; seizes Jaunpūr, p. 353; marches towards Badāfin; places Bārbāk Shāh on the throne of the Sharqī kingdom; p. 353; dies, p. 354.

Bahrām Abūh, rebels in Multan, defeated and killed by Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, p. 231.

Bahrām Lodi Malik Sultān Shāh, sent by Khīr Khān, and defeats Śārang Khān, p. 297, killed in a battle with Shaikh 'Alī, p. 314.

Bahrām Shāh, placed on the throne by Sultān Sanjār; invades India, and leaves a governor and returns to Ghaznī; the governor revolts; Bahrām Shāh attacks him and he is slain, p. 34; dies in 547 A.H., p. 35.

Bahṭia, a band of schismatics ordered to be killed by Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, p. 187.

Bakhtiyār Khilji, early life, p. 49; raids Behar and Muner; joins the service of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn; made ruler of Lakhnauti, p. 50; story of the Brāhmanas; arrives in Nudiar; Lakhmanias escapes; founds Lakhnauti in Gour, p. 51; assumes sovereignty, p. 51; attempts to conquer Tibet and Turkistan, p. 52; army worn out, and returns; finds bridges broken, p. 53; takes shelter in a temple, p. 54; besieged by Rai of Kāmrud; falls ill and dies, p. 54.

Barkas, also called Parwaris, tribe of low class people of Gujrat, p. 199, 200, 301, 303, 304.

Bārbāk Shāh, Bādshāh of Jaunpūr; Sultān Sikandar sends Ismail Khān to him; goes from Jaunpūr to Kanouj, when S. S. attacks him, p. 357; defeated by S. S. but again placed on the throne by him; S. S. takes away some of the *parganas*, p. 358; leaves Jaunpūr, p. 360; comes to Dalmau to meet S. S.; unable to remain at Jaunpūr, p. 360; seized, and brought to S. S. p. 361.

Bhadwariās, tribe of turbulent people, p. 350.

Bhīkhan Khān Shāhshāda, ascends the throne under the title of Muhammad Shāh; peace established between Sultān Bahlol and him, p. 342.

Bughrā Khān, younger son of Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban; sent to Sāmānah and Sunām conferred on him by his father, p. 107; accompanies Sultān to Lakhnauti, p. 109; left by Sultān G. B. with some advice, p. 111, sent for by S. G. B. and requested to remain at Delhi; goes to Lakhnauti, p. 119; writes letters to his son S. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikobād, p. 122; meets his son at Audh, p. 123; an account of the meeting, p. 123 and 124; farewell advice to his son, p. 124.

## D

Daryā Khān, deserts Sultān Muḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of Qutb Khān, p. 340.

Dāūd, ruler of Multan; Sultān Muḥmūd takes him by surprise; agrees to pay annual tribute to the former and to follow the true religion, p. 6; Amīr Ma'ūd pursues him, p. 23.

## F

**Fakhr-ud-din Jūnā Malik**, made master of the horse by **Khusrū Khān**, p. 205; escapes from Delhi, is pursued but arrives at Dīlālpur, p. 206.

**Faṣīd Khān**, son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, killed by the Barḳos, p. 204.

**Farrukhshāh**, placed on the throne of Ghaznī; troubles with the Saljukians; treaty; death, p. 32 (see also n. 4).

**Fateh Khān**, sent by Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī to fight with Sultān Bahlōl Lodī; defeated, p. 340.

**Faulād**, asks the help of Shaikh 'Alī Beg sending a large sum; arrangement with the former, p. 313; overruns the country of Rāy Fīroz and the latter is killed.

**Fīroz Shāh**, Sultān Rukn-ud-dīn, ascends the throne, p. 72; gives himself up to dissipation; amīra revolt; marches towards the Punjab, p. 73; returns to Delhi but is seized, and put into prison and dies, p. 74.

**Fīroz Shāh Sultān**, arrives at Panduah; Sultān Sikandar takes shelter in Ekdālāh; Ekdālāh is besieged, Sultān Sikandar submits and agrees to pay tribute; on his return journey halts at Jaunpur for the rains; goes to Jājnagar; Rāi Sārbin of Sankrah fled; crosses the Mahānzdi and arrives at Benares, capital of the Rāi of Jājnagar; the Rāi escapes to Tilang and begs for peace and sends presents; returns to Delhi, 772 A.H., p. 247; orders excavation of canals; separates Sarhind from Sāmānah; marches to Nagarkot; "iced sharbat"; Rājā of Nagarkot submits; story of Sikandar Zulqarnain's (Alexander the Great's, see also note 1) coming to Nagarkot; image of Nuahābe (see also note 2), p. 248, library of books of the Brāhmins at

Nagarkot; marches towards Thatha; the Jām outrenches himself and later submits, p. 249; makes Malik Mufarrah Sultānī (Farhat-ul-Mulk) governor of Gujrat, p. 250; marches to Itāwah and obtains the submission of the Zamīndārs of that country; p. 250-251; marches to Sāmānah; marches to Kaithar and devastates the country, p. 251; **Khān-i-Jahān's** influence over him; **Khān-i-Jahān's** plot against Shāhshāda Muhammad **Khān's** friends; Shāhshāda Muhammad **Khān** tells him of **Khān-i-Jahān's** plot; S.M.K. attacks K.-i-J., p. 253; abdicates and puts S.M.K. on the throne, p. 253; his troops rebel against Sultān Muhammad Shāh; fighting between his troops and those of S.M.K., p. 254; makes Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fateh Khān, his heir; dies, p. 255; three regulations about the government, p. 256; *Fatuhāt Fīrozshāhi* written by him, its contents, p. 257; list of public works carried out by him, p. 260.

## G

**Ghāzi Malik**, (Sultān Ghīfā-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh), asked to come to Delhi by **Khusrū Khān**, but he commences hostilities, p. 205; **Khusrū Khān** sends an army against him; Malik Bahrām Abīh comes to him; defeats Kh. Kh.'s army and advances to Delhi, p. 206, Kh. Kh. is seized and executed; advances from the assembled noblemen, p. 207; becomes Sultān with the title of Sultān Ghīfā-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh; stipends to descendants of S. 'A. and S. K., p. 206; grant of titles and offices; makes a moderate revenue assessment, p. 209; rules about *Jāgir-dārs*; resumes the sums bestowed



by Kh. Kh.; rewards judges; adopts financial measures and rules prescribed by S. 'A.; resumes improper grants by S. Kutb-ud-din, p. 210; lays foundation of fort of Tughlaqābād, p. 211; sends Ulugh Khān to Arangal, again sends Ulugh Khān to Arangal, which is captured; induced to invade Lakhnauti, sends Tātār Khān in advance, p. 213; returns to Dehli, arrives in the pavilion erected by his son Ulugh Khān near Tughlaqābād; roof of pavilion falls in and he is killed, p. 214.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban Sultān, made Vazīr by Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, p. 85; made Sultān; his virtuous and careful administration, p. 93; his stern justice, p. 94; his durbars, p. 95; his dignity and grandeur of demeanour; adopts the golden mean between mercy and wrath, p. 96; gives up drinking, convivial meetings and gambling on becoming Sultān, p. 97; objects to conquer Gujrāt, Mālwa etc., as it was necessary to protect his dominions from the yearly invasion of the Mughals, p. 98; fond of hunting; preserves game; takes stern measures against Miwātis, p. 99; appoints strong jāgirdārs to put down turbulent people; opens the road to Jaunpūr, Behar and Bangālāh, p. 100; stern measures against the people of Kātibar; marches to Lahore which had been ravaged by Mughals, p. 101; Mughals give trouble and he sends his eldest son Muhammad Sultān to Multan to check them, p. 103; Mughals again invade, and prince Muhammad Sultān is killed in battle with them, p. 104; precepts to his son, M. S. on his last visit to Dehli, p. 105; sends his younger son

Bughrā Khān to Sāmānah and confers it and Sunām on him, p. 107; revolt of Tughral, governor of Lakhnauti; sends troops against him, but they are defeated; sends another army which is also defeated, p. 108; marches towards Lakhnauti; takes Bughrā Khān with him; arrives at Lakhnauti and pursues Tughral; arrives near Sonārgāon; Bhojrāi, the governor, joins him; Tughral disappears, p. 109; but is pursued and slain p. 111, leaves B. Kh. with some advice, p. 111; returns to Dehli; p. 112; his great sorrow; sends his grand son to Multān; p. 118; sends for B. Kh. and tells him to remain at Dehli, and to send his son Kaikubād to Lakhnauti, but B. Kh. goes to Lakhnauti; p. 119; appoints Kai-khusru as his successor; p. 119.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Khalji Sultān, ruler of Lakhnauti attacked and defeated by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh and brought under subjection, p. 66; defeated by Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn taken prisoner and slain, p. 66.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Sultān, becomes Sultān of Ghūr; his brother who afterwards became S. M. M. Ghuri when ruler of Tiginābād repeatedly attacked Ghaznīn, p. 36; he conquered Ghaznīn, p. 36.

Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlaq Shāh, Sultān (see Ghāzi Malik).

## H

Haji Moulā, a man belonging to the tribe of the Amir-ul-umra, enters Dehli; slays the Kotwāl and places Shāh Nabāsa Muhtasib on the throne, p. 166; killed by Hamid-ud-dīn Amir Kū, p. 167.

Hamid Khān, made Vazīr, p. 334; 'Ala-ud-dīn orders his arrest, p. 335; ordered to be put to death by

- 'Ala-ud-dīn, escapes and the people gathered round him; drives out the family of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn from the palace and becomes the de facto Sultān; thinks of placing Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr on the throne, p. 336; possesses great power, and Sultān Bahlol Lodi shows gentleness to him; his Afghāns at the instance of S. B. L. behave strangely, p. 338; imprisoned, 339.
- Hamīd-ud-dīn Amīr Kū, kills Hajī Moulā and the 'Alāwī whom the latter had placed on the throne, p. 167.
- Harpāl Deo, son-in-law of Rām Deo; in possession of Deogīr; Deogīr taken from him; he is taken prisoner, and is killed by Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, p. 194.
- Hasan Khwāja, writes the elegy of Muhammad Sultān, p. 113.
- Hasār-Dīnārī Malik Nāib Kāfur, a slave of a Merchant of Kambāyat, taken from his master by Nasrat Khān and brought to Delhi, becomes a great favourite of S. 'Ala-ud-dīn, is afterwards made Nāib-i-mulk by him, p. 167, sent against Deogīr, p. 181, sent to invade Dhor Samundar and Ma'abar, p. 184, instigates S. 'A. to send Khizr Khān who had been declared to be the Sultān's heir to Gwālīār, suspected to have poisoned S. 'A., p. 190, killed by a band of the old pāiks, p. 191.
- Hisām Khān, Vazīr of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn, remonstrates with the latter, p. 330; at his instigation one of the brothers of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn's wife is killed, p. 331; is killed by S. Muhammad, p. 334.
- Hisām-ud-dīn, sent to Gujrat, wanted to revolt but was seized and sent to Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn M. Sh. by the Amīrs, p. 197.
- Hisām-ud-dīn Malik, early life; joins service of Bakhtiyār, p. 58; gives tribute to Sultān Shams-ud-dīn; defeated by Malik Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd and is slain, p. 59.
- Horse Dākohauki, established by Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, p. 183.
- Humāyūn Khān Shāhzāda, devastates the country round Delhi, p. 265; defeated by Abu Bakr Shāh's army, p. 265; sent by S. Muhammad Shāh against A. B. S., p. 269.
- Husain Sultān, at the invitation of the Zamīndārs comes with an army to attack Sultān Sikandar but is defeated, p. 363.

## I

- Ibrāhīm, pious king, p. 32; treaty with the Saljukians; conquers many towns in India; death, p. 33.
- Ibrāhīm Lodi Sultān, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi made Sultān (see also note 2, p. 392); separates Jaunpūr and gives it to Shāhzāda Jalāl Khān (see also note 1, p. 393); sends for Sh. J. Kh. who does not come, p. 394; adopts hostile measures and asks the amīrs of Jaunpūr not to render allegiance to Sh. J. Khān; attempts to make himself popular, p. 395; determines to crush Sh. J. Kh. who had got A'zam Humāyūn Sarwāni to befriend him, p. 397; but A'. II. deserts Sh. J. Kh. and joins the Sultān, p. 398; besieges Sh. J. Kh. at Kālpī and takes it, p. 399; attends to the government, becomes angry with Mian Bhudah and imprisons him, p. 400; sends A'zam H. S. to conquer Gwālīār; the outer fort of Bādalgah is blown up and taken, p. 402; loses all faith in the amīrs, who then rebel against him; but are defeated by his adherents, p. 404; revolt of Bahādur Khān,

son of Daryā Khān Luhānī in Behar, p. 406; Bāber invades India. Sultān Ibrāhīm defeated in the vicinity of Pānīpat and slain, p. 407.

Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī Sultān, succeeds after the death of his brother Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; Sultān Mahmūd Shāh goes over to his army; returns to Jaunpūr, p. 284; recovers Kanouj, p. 287; takes Sambal, p. 288; battle between him and Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p. 309; warfare between him and Sultān Hoehang Mālwi, p. 321; takes possession of some *parganas*, p. 327.

Ikhṭiār-ud-dīn Altunia Malik, governor of Tabarhinda; marries Sultān Razia; defeated and slain along with her, p. 77.

Iqbāl Khān, formerly known as Mallu, enters into agreement with Nasrat Shāh; attacks Nasrat Shāh who escapes to Firozābād, p. 277; puts Muqarrab Khān to death and treats Sultān Mahmūd Shāh as a puppet; attacks Tātār Khān; acquires great power, p. 278; opposes Amīr Taimūr Gurgān, but is routed and escapes to Gujrat, p. 280; Nasrat Shāh collects a force and sends Shahāb Khān against him, p. 281; kills Shahāb Khān and takes possession of Dehli, p. 281-82; takes possession of the country round Dehli; the rest of the country in the possession of different nobles; marches against Biānah, and defeats Shams Khān and then marches towards Kaithar, p. 282; marches against Mubārak Shāh Sharqī; the latter meets him, and after two months they come to terms, p. 283; welcomes Sultān Mahmūd Shāh and places him in the Humāyūn palace, p. 284; besieges Gwālār; again marches to

Gwālār, fights a battle with Bīram Deo in front of Dholpūr and defeats him and returns to Dehli; unsuccessfully besieges Sultān Mahmūd, p. 285; marches towards Sāmānah; fights a battle with Khizr Khān and being taken prisoner is put to death, p. 286.

'Izz-ud-dīn Balban Malik, ascends the throne; amīrs object and place Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn Ma'sūd Shāh on the throne, p. 81.

'Izz-ud-dīn Muhammad, noble of Bakhtiyār Khilji; sent to Jājnagar; performs mourning rites for Bakhtiyār Khilji, p. 55.

## J

Jaipāl, ruler of Hindustan; attacks Sabuktigin; sues for peace; breaks the engagement; meets Sabuktigin again; is defeated in the battle of Lamaghān, p. 3; meets Sultān Mahmūd, in the 2nd invasion of India; is defeated; made prisoner p. 5.

Jalāl Khān Lodi, Son of Mahmūd Khān Lodi, (see also note 4, p. 378), governor of Kālpi; p. 378; ordered by Sultān Sikandar to go in advance and begin the siege of Narwar; shows his army to S. S. and thereby excites his envy; ordered to be seized and put in chains and imprisoned in Uditnagar, p. 377.

Jalāl Khān Shāh-zādah, son of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, becomes Sultān of Jaunpūr, p. 393; sent for by Sultān Ibrāhīm, but does not come, p. 394; S. I. adopts hostile measures, and asks the amīrs of Jaunpūr not to render allegiance to him, p. 395; goes from Jaunpūr to Kālpi, p. 396; goes to 'Azam Humāyūn Sarwānī at Kālīnjar, p. 396; 'A. H. S. joins him and they attack Sa'id Khan, governor of Oudh, 397. S. I. marches

- against them; 'A. H. S. separates from S. J. Kh., p. 398; S. J. besieges him at Kālpī and captures, etc.; reaches the neighbourhood of Agra; wants in revenge of Kālpī to ravage Agra; Malik Adam softens him with sweet words; agrees to suspend the sack of Agra, p. 399; gives up the paraphernalia of royalty, p. 399; Sultān Ibrāhīm wants to kill him; takes shelter with the Rājā of Gwālīār, p. 400.
- Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī Sultān, ascends the throne, p. 132; founds new city; his piety, patience, modesty and justice, p. 133; makes Kilu Khari his capital; puts down the rebellion of Malik Jhaju, nephew of Sultān Balban, p. 134, 135; treats the prisoners with kindness, p. 136; makes 'Ala-ud-dīn (afterwards Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn) feudatory of Karah; assumes the title of "the warrior of God," p. 139; renounces the title later on; Sultān orders Sidi Maulah, a darvish, to be burnt alive, is dissuaded from carrying it out; Sidi Maulah slain by a Kalandar; marches against Rantambor, p. 142; Mughals invade India; negotiations; some Mughals settle at Ghīspūr and become Musalmans, are called *nau-Muslim* Neo-Moslems, p. 143; defeats Rām Deo, ruler of Deogīr; starts for Gwālīār; receives report of 'Ala-ud-dīn's victory; doubts about 'Ala-ud-dīn's attitude, p. 145; believes in 'Ala-ud-dīn's good faith; returns to Dehli, p. 147; 'Ala-ud-dīn deceives him and prepares an expedition to Lakhnauti; sends an affectionate letter to 'Ala-ud-dīn, but his emissaries find that the latter is hostile; 'Ala-ud-dīn determines on his expedition to Lakhnauti, p. 148; arrives at Karah; Almas Beg deceives Sultān and detaches him from his army and personal attendants, p. 149; meets 'Ala-ud-dīn, p. 150; is wounded and his head is cut off, p. 150-51.
- Jām, ruler of Thatha, entrenches himself and later submits to Sultān Fīroz Shāh, p. 249.
- Jamāl-ud-dīn Yākut, Abyssinian Lord of the stables under S. Rasia, killed by Turki nobles, p. 77.
- Jasrat, son of Shaikhā Khokhar; besieges Kalānūr and defeats Malik Sikandar, p. 310-11, makes peace with Bahlol Lodi and gives him the hope of becoming Sultān of Dehli, p. 328.
- Jats, meet Mahmūd with 4000 (or 8000) boats to fight him but are drowned and cut to pieces by the former, p. 16.
- Jhaju Malik, nephew of Sultān Balban; rebels against Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, p. 134; is taken prisoner but is treated with kindness by S. J. K., p. 136.
- Juman Mulla, Sultān Sikandar Lodi imprisons him, p. 375. (See note 2 also).
- Jūnā Khān, governor of Shamsābād under Sultān Mahmūd Sharqī Sultān; Bahlol Lodi orders him to march out of Shamsābād as previously arranged, p. 342; M. B. L. takes Shamsābād from him and makes it over to Rāy Karan, p. 346.

## K

- Kabek, a mughal invader; fights with the army of Dehli and is killed p. 179.
- Kaikhvāru, grandson of S. Ghīfā-ud-dīn Balban sent to Multan by S. G. B., p. 118; appointed successor; after the death of S. G. B. sent to

- Multan by Malik-ul-Umra, p. 119; assassinated, p. 121.
- Kaikubād Sultān, see Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād Sultān.
- Kamāl-ud-dīn Malik, sent by S. Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh to Gujrat to put down revolts, p. 193; killed, p. 194.
- Kanya Pāik, rebels against S. M. Tughlaq Shāh near Arangal, p. 224.
- Khān-i-Jahān, Jūnān or Khubān Shāh, eldest son of Khān-i-Jahān, succeeds his father and receives the title of Khān-i-Jahān, is Vazīr for twenty years, but towards the end of S. F. Shah's reign acquires undue influence over him; plots against Shāh-zādah, Muhammad Khān's friends; his plot is reported to the Sultān by the Shāh-zādah; attacked by the Shāh-zādah, p. 252; takes refuge with Kukā Chauhān Zamīn-dār of Miwāt, p. 253; sent by Kukā Chauhān to Sikandar Khān, is put to death, pp 253-54.
- Khān of Khālaj, fights with Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Kabājāh, p. 48; see also note 1.
- Khizr Khān, eldest son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn declared to be the heir-apparent; sent to Gwāliār by his father at the instigation of Malik Nāib Kāfur, p. 189.
- Khizr Khān, comes with others and renders homage to Taimūr, p. 281; Taimūr makes over Multān and Dibālpūr to him, p. 281; defeats Taghi Khān Turk, p. 283; fights with Iqbāl Khān, takes him prisoner and puts him to death, p. 286; becomes Sultān under the title of Rāyāt 'Alī Khizr Khān (see under Kh. Kh. Rāyāt 'Alī).
- Khizr Khān, Rāyāt 'Alī, son of Malik Sulaimān; parentage and early history; made governor of Multan by Sultān Firoz Shāh, p. 292; sends Tāj-ul-Mulk to Badāūn and Kaithar to punish the rebels of the country, p. 293; T-ul-M reduces the rebels and returns to Delhi, p. 294; a horde of Turks take possession of Sirhind; sends Zirak Khān against them; rebellion of Tūghān and some Turks, p. 295. Tūghān submits and agrees to pay tribute, p. 296; sends T-ul-M. against the Rājā of Kaithar, p. 296; advances himself, p. 296; some nobles conspire against him; puts the conspirators to death and returns to Delhi; sends Malik Sultān Shāh Bahrām Lodi who defeats a man who calls himself Sarang Khān and revolts in the hills of Baj-wārah, p. 297; sends Khair-ud-dīn against Tūghān, p. 298; marches against the rebels of Miwāt and then goes to Gwāliār to pillage the country, p. 299; dies, p. 299.
- Sheikhā Khokhar, defeated by Sarang Khān, p. 273; Taimūr seizes him and pillages and sacks Lahore, p. 281; becomes powerful by defeating and plundering the army of Sultān 'Alī Bādshāh of Kashmir and resolves to seize Delhi, overruns the country round Ludhiānā and besieges Jālandhar, p. 300; besieges Sirhind, p. 301; is pursued by Sultān Mubārak Shāh, p. 302; collects army and comes to Lahore, p. 302; returns to Kalānūr and then to the hills, p. 303; overruns the country of Dibālpūr, p. 305; again rebels; comes near Jālandhar, and suddenly attacks Malik Sikandar, defeats him and takes him prisoner; besieges Lahore, p. 315; abandons the siege of Lahore, p. 316.
- Khokhars, p. 64.
- Khuru Amīr, author of Kirān-us-Sa'dain, p. 123.

**Khusru Khān**, a young Parwārī of Gujrat, made **Kh. Kh.** and vazir, p. 192; sent in command of an expedition to Ma'abar, p. 195; his proceedings there; tries to set up an independent authority there, p. 198; other amīrs hasten to Dehli to give information of this, but he forestalls them, and gets the Sultān to punish them, pp. 198-99; collects his countrymen to help him in his projected rebellion; his confederates murder the Sultān, p. 203; has the **Khutba** read in his own name and ascends the throne taking the title of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn, p. 204; tries to gain over **Qhāzī** Malik and his son Malik F. Juna to his side, p. 205, but failing to do so, sends an army against them; but **Qh. M.** defeats it and advances to Dehli, p. 206; **Kh. Kh.** comes out of Dehli and gives battle but is defeated, p. 207; he is captured and brought before **Qh. M.** and is executed, p. 207.

**Khusru Malik**, last of the Sultāns of **Qhaznīn**, who had settled in Lahore; gives himself up to dissipation; is sent to **Qhaznīn** by Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Sām, is put to death, p. 35.

**Khusru Shah**, attacked by 'Ala-ud-dīn Husain **Qhūrī**; comes to Lahore, goes back to **Qhaznīn** but returns to Lahore, and dies there in 555 A.H., p. 35.

**Kirān-us-Sa'dān**, poem by Amīr **Khusru**, descriptive of meeting between **Bughra Khān** and Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād, p. 123.

**Kukā Chauhān**, zamīndār of Miwāt; **Khān-i-Jahān** takes refuge with him; sends him to Sikandar **Khān**, pp. 253-54.

**Kulchandra**, ruler of Mahāwan, on the Jumna about 20 *Karohs* from

Agra, p. 10; attempts to escape but being pursued by Mahmūd's army stabs and kills himself, pp. 10-11.

**Kutb-ud-dīn**, one of the slaves of S. M. M. S. Gh., left by the latter at Kuhrām, p. 39; makes Dehli his capital; takes Thānkīr (modern Biānah), Gwālīār and Badāūn; defeats Rāi Bhīm Deo of Gujrat, p. 40; early life, p. 42; made an amīr; made Sultān by Sultān Ghiāṣ-ud-dīn, p. 43; very charitable; called Kutb-ud-dīn Iāk-bakhsh; hostility between him and Tāj-ud-dīn (ruler of **Qhaznīn**), p. 44; death from a fall from horse when playing *chauquān*, p. 45.

**Kutluḡh Khān**, step-father of Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd; shows hostility, p. 91; is invited to Dehli by a number of people there; they are dispersed by order of the Sultān in accordance with the advice of Ulugh **Khān-i-Balban** and **Kutluḡh Khān** on coming to Dehli finds them all gone, pp. 91-92.

**Kutluḡh Khwājah**, a Mughal, invades Hindustan and encamps near Dehli, p. 158. 'Ala-ud-dīn meets him, **Zafar Khān** in command of the right wing of the Dehli army defeats the Mughals and pursues them for a long distance, p. 159.

## L

**Lakhmanīa** or **Lakhman Son**, last Sen King of Bengal, escapes when Bakhtiyār Khiljī arrives in Nudīa, p. 51.

## M

**Maghīṣ ud-dīn Qāṣī**, of Biānah, questions put to him by Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, and his replies, pp. 170-73; rewarded by the Sultān, p. 173.

**Mahmūd**, Sultān Sabuktigin, receives robe of honour from Al-Kadir-Billah,

Caliph of Baghdād, p. 4; 1st invasion of Hindustan; again invades Hindustan; defeats Jaipāl; takes him prisoner; goes to Bahinda, (see also note 3); 3rd invasion of Hindustan; passes through Multan and encamps at Bhātīsh, p. 5; attacks Bahira (the Rājā of Bhātīsh) who retires and stabs himself; wants to take Dāūd (ruler of Multan) by surprise; Ānandpāl opposes him in his journey to Multan, but is defeated and retires to the mountains of Kashmīr; Dāūd agrees to pay him tribute and to follow the true religion; pursues Sukhpāl and imprisons him; invades India and defeats Ānandpāl, p. 6; goes to Bhīmāgar (see also note 2); invades and takes the rest of Multan; invades Thanessar; son of Jaipāl offers 50 elephants on his leaving him alone (see also note 2); rejects the offer and plunders Thanessar, p. 7; envoy comes from ruler of Egypt: drives out the envoy: invades Nandana in the Bālnāth hills; people in the fort surrender and he takes away all the treasures; advances towards Kashmīr and plunders it, p. 8; invades Kashmīr and besieges Lohkot, but has to abandon the siege, p. 9; invades Kanouj, and Korah, its ruler submits; he advances to Baran (see also note 5); garrison pays tribute, p. 10; comes to Mahāwan on the Jumna, and captures and plunders it, pp. 10-11; Kulchandra the ruler of Mahāwan attempts to escape but being pursued by Mahmūd's troops stabs and kills himself, pp. 10-11; advances to Maturah; destroys the city and the temples, p. 11; invades India to punish Nandā (see also note 1), p. 12; Naro Jaipāl

meets him near the Jumna to prevent his getting to Nandā; defeats Naro Jaipāl's army; advances towards the Kingdom of Nandā ruler of Kālinjar; Nandā collects an immense army but finally flies away, p. 13; invades Kashmīr and again besieges Lohkot but abandons the siege; invades Lahore and Bakrah, p. 13; invades the country of Nandā; besieges Gwālīār; accepts offer of tribute; besieges Kālanjar; Nandā offers him 30 elephants, p. 14; exchange of civility between Mahmūd and Nandā, p. 14; invades Somnāth, reaches the city of Nahrwālā Patan; breaks the idol of Somnāth, p. 15; marches through desert to avoid Param Deo, pp. 15-16; suffers great privations; again invades to punish the Jāts; advances towards Multan; constructs fleet of 1,400 boats; Jāts meet him with 4,000 (or 8,000) boats; Jāts drowned and cut to pieces, p. 16; attacked with hectic fever and dies, p. 17 (see also note 2).

Mahmūd Hasan Malik, sent against Shaikh 'Alī by Sultān Mabārak Shāh who makes Multan and Sindh over to him, p. 305.

Mahmūd Khilji Sultān, Bādshāh of Malwah, summoned by the Miwāti Amīrs comes to Dehli; battle between Muhammad Shāh and his amīrs and proposal of peace, pp. 327-28; turns back on hearing the advance of Sultān Ahmed Gujrati towards Mandu; Malik Bahlol Lodi attacks his retiring army, p. 328.

Mahmūd Shāh Sultān, youngest son of Sultān Muhammad Shāh; ascends the throne p. 272; makes over Jaunpūr, to Khwājah Sarwar with the title of Sultān-u-sh-Sharq, pp. 272-73; sends Sārang Khān to

- Dibālpūr to suppress disturbances created by Sheikhā Khokhar, p. 273; marches towards Gwāliar and Biānah but returns owing to a quarrel between S'adat Kh. and Muqarrab Khān; M. Khān revolts and besieges the city; Mahmūd Shāh goes over to M. Kh., p. 274-275; becomes a puppet in the hands of Iqbāl Khān, p. 278; goes towards Gujrat when Taimūr invades India, p. 280; returns from Gujrat to Dhār and later to Dehli, p. 283-284; is placed in the Humāyūn palace by Iqbāl Khān, p. 284; goes over to Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī's army; comes to Kanouj and expels the Sharqī governor and takes possession, p. 284; summoned by the amirs at Dehli from Kanouj; again ascends the throne; marches towards Jaunpūr; peace concluded, p. 287; marches to Baran, takes it and marches to Sambal and takes it, p. 288, besieges the citadel of Niri and takes possession of the towns of Doab, p. 290; dies. pp. 290-91.
- Mahmūd Sharqī Sultān, the amirs of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn summon him and he arrives in Dehli in 856 A.H., with a large army and besieges Dehli, p. 340; again comes to attack Sultān Bahlol Lodi; peace settled, p. 341; some of his caravans etc., are captured by Sultān Bahlol Lodi's troops; sends Fateh Khān Harawi to attack Sultān B. L.; Quth Khān Lodi calls upon Darya Khān Lodi to desert and he does so and Fateh Khān is defeated, p. 340; retires to Jaunpūr, p. 341; comes again to attack S. B. L.; dies, p. 342.
- Malik-Ul-Umra, (Fakhr-ud-dīn Kotwāl) directed by S. Ghīās-ud-dīn Balban to make the latter's grandson, Kai Khuru his successor; sends Kai Khuru to Multan and makes Kai-kubād another grandson of S. G. B. the Sultān with the title of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād, p. 119; tries to turn his adopted son Malik Nizām-ud-dīn from his evil designs, p. 122;
- Malkah-i-Jahan, mother of S. M. T. Sh.; death, p. 223.
- Mallār Deo, Rājā of Dhor samundar, taken prisoner by Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazār-dināri, p. 184.
- Mangu Khān, son of Sultān 'Ala-ud-dīn, killed by the Barāos, p. 204.
- Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhīm, nothing known about him but see note 2, p. 33.
- Mas'ūd Shahīd Sipah Sālār, p. 227.
- Māwar-un-Nahr, name of place, p. 23.
- Mubārak Shāh Sultān, is made Sultān, p. 283; son of Rāyāt-i-'Alī Khīr Khān, p. 209; rebellion of Sheikhā Khokhar, who had become powerful by defeating and plundering the army of Sultān 'Alī, tādshah of Kashnīr and had resolved to seize Dehli, p. 300; marches towards Sirhind, p. 301; pursues Sh. Kh. into the hills; returns to Lahore; rebuilds the fortification, p. 302; 826 goes to Kaithar; pillages the country of the Rāthors who submit; returns to Dehli, p. 304; sends Malik Mahmūd Hasan against Shaikh 'Alī, making Multan and Sindh over to him, p. 305; advances against Alp Khān, p. 305; Amir Khān agrees to pay tribute, p. 305-306; goes to Gwāliar; receives tribute from Alp Khān; returns to Dehli; Miwātians revolt; plunders and devastates Miwāt and returns to Dehli; again marches towards Miwāt, p. 306; sends Malik Mubaris to put down rebellion of Muhammad Khān; marches in person to Biānah,



p. 308; disturbances in Miwāt, p. 310, goes to Gwālār via Bānāh and then to Hātānāt and defeats Rāy Hanu, p. 311; death of Saiyad Salim; confers titles on his sons, p. 312, starts towards Tabarhindah and sends Zīrak Khān, etc., to besiege Tabarhindah, p. 312; returns to Dehli leaving Islām Khān and others to carry on the siege, p. 313; sends a number of amirs to help 'Imād-ul-mulk, p. 314; marches towards Lahore and Multan and sends Malik Sarwar in advance, p. 316; marches to Miwāt, p. 317. The inhabitants submit, p. 318; marches to Sāmānah; sends men in pursuit of Sheikh 'Alī, who escapes, p. 319; receives tribute from Muzaffar Khān, Shaikh 'Alī's nephew, pp. 319-20; founds the city of Mubārakābād; news of the victory of Tabarhindah, p. 321; is killed, pp. 321-22.

Mubārak Shāh, Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn, son of Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī; makes a young Parwārī vazīr, p. 192; good deeds; rules made by S. 'A. abrogated; becomes dissipated; sends Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn to Gujrat to put down revolts, p. 193; sends Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni and brings the province into order; marches to Deogir against Harpāl Deo, son-in-law of Rām Deo who had taken possession of that place; takes Deogir and makes Harpāl Deo prisoner and puts him to death, p. 194; Marhatta country brought under subjection; makes Khusrū Khān commander of the army and sends him to Ma'abar; Malik Asad-ud-dīn conspires to murder him; conspiracy betrayed by one of the conspirators, Malik Asad-ud-dīn and his brothers put to death; sends Shādī Khān to Gwālār to put Khizr Khān, Shādī Khān and

Malik Shihāb-ud-dīn to death; becomes ill towards Shaikh Nisām-ud-dīn Anlā, p. 195; orders execution of Zafar Khān, feudatory of Gujrat and of Shāhin, p. 196; sends Hisām-ud-dīn brother of Khusrū Khān to Gujrat; Hisām-ud-dīn wants to revolt, but is seized by the amirs and sent to him; releases Khusrū Khān and honours him, p. 197; sends Malik Wahid-ud-dīn Kureishī to Gujrat and introduces rule and order there; Malik Yaklakhi rebels; is seized and punished; Malik 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni made governor of Deogir; Malik Wahid-ud-dīn made Vazīr, p. 197; sides with Kh. Kh. and punishes the amirs, p. 199; plot of Kh. Kh. to kill him; hands over the keys of the palace to Kh. Kh., p. 200; killed, p. 203.

Mubārak Shāh Sharqī, Iqbāl Khān marches against him, p. 283; dies and his brother Sultān Ibrāhīm succeeds, p. 284.

Mufarrah Sultāni Malik, receives the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk; made governor of Gujrat, p. 260; puts Sikandar Khān to death with the help of the Amirs of Gujrat, p. 254, his rebellion and tyranny, p. 269.

Mughat Targhī, invades Hindustān, and encamps near Dehli, p. 173; goes away without any apparent cause, p. 174.

Muhammad (Khān) Shāhrazdah, (afterwards became Sultān Muhammad Shāh) son of Sultān Fīroz Shāh; plot of Khān-i-Jahān against his friends; reports to Sultān Fīroz Shāh about the plot of K-i-J; attacks K-i-J, p. 253; ascends the throne, p. 253; the troops of Sultān Fīroz Shāh rebel against him, p. 254; fighting between his troops and that of S. F. S., p. 254; retires to

the Sarmur hills, p. 255; pursued by S. F. Sh.'s army, p. 261; Amīrs of hundreds kill Sultān Shāh Khushdil and send his head to him; comes to Sāmānah and sits on the throne a 2nd time; arrives at the palace of Jahānumā, p. 263; defeated by A. B. Sh.; returns to the Doāb; some of F. Sh.'s amīrs join him; again defeated by Abu Bakr Shāh; marched a 2nd time towards Dehli but is defeated at Kundli; p. 264; orders massacre of S. F. Sh.'s slaves, p. 265; evades A. B. Sh. who marches towards Jalesar with a large army, goes to Dehli, p. 265; takes up his abode in the Humāyūn palace; goes back to Jalesar p. 266; comes back to Dehli and again ascends the throne, p. 267; orders F. Sh.'s slaves to leave Dehli; orders massacre of those who could not leave Dehli, p. 268; sends Humāyūn Khān and others against A. B. Sh.; comes to Kotlah and A. B. Sh. and Bahādur Nāhir surrender; rebellion of M. Sultāni, and of the Zamīndārs of the Doab, p. 269; suppressed and their fort is demolished, p. 270; rebellion of Islām Khān who is punished; revolt of the head men of the Doab Rajputs, p. 270; death, p. 271

Muhammad Khān, rebels; takes Biānah; Malik Mubārīz is sent against him by Sultan Mubarak Shāh; goes to Sultān Ibrahim Sharqi, p. 308.

Muhammad Khān, grandson of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din Malwi; seeks Sultān Sikandar Lodi's protection, p. 379; becomes feudatory of S. S. L., p. 380.

Muhammad Shāh Sultān, his parentage; ascends the throne; hostile attitude of Malik Sarwar (Sarwar-ul-Mulk), p. 322; Sarwar-ul-Mulk and his partisans attempt to murder him

but the former is killed by his friends, p. 325; travels towards Multān, p. 326; makes pilgrimage to the shrines of the Shaikhs of Multān and then returns to Dehli; news of disturbances from various quarters; Rays of Gwalior withhold payment of revenue; indolent and careless, p. 327; Miwāti amīrs summon Sultān Mahmūd Khilji of Malwah, the latter comes to Dehli, battle with S. M. Khilji's amīrs, and proposal of peace, p. 327-328; marches towards Sāmānah, makes over Dībālpūr and Lahore to Malik Bahlol, sends him against Jarrat Khokhar; returns to Dehli, p. 328; death, p. 329. Certain incidents connected with him narrated in the history of the reign of Sultān Bahlol Lodi. At the instigation of Sultān Bahlol Lodi puts Hiasm Khān to death and makes Hamīd Khān vazīr; dies and Sultān 'Ala-ud-din succeeds him, p. 334.

Muhammad Sultān, son of Sultān (Jhān-ud-dīn) Balban; sent by his father to Multān to check the Mughals, p. 103; sends messengers to Shaikh Sa'di in Shirāz; Mughals invade again and he is killed in a battle with them, p. 104; elegy written by Khwāja Hasan, p. 113.

Muhtash Nabasa Shah, placed on the throne by Hajī Moula, p. 166; killed by Hamīd-ud-din Amīr Kū, p. 167.

Mu'izz-ud-din Sultān, Muhammad Sām (Jhuri commonly called Muhammad Jhuri, repeatedly attacks Jhaznīn; marches against Lahore, takes Khusrū Malik to Jhaznīn and puts him to death, p. 35; conquers Multān and Uchch; marches towards Gujrat; is defeated by Rai Bhīm Doo, returns to Jhaznīn, p. 36; invades Lahore again; plunders the

country and founds Siālkot, p. 37; again invades Hindustan and takes Sarhind and makes it over to Zia-ud-din Tukali; Pithora (Prithvi Raj) advances to meet him, p. 38; defeated at the great battle at Tarāin, p. 38-39; retires to Ghaznīn; invades India again, 2nd battle of Tarāin, defeats, takes prisoner and kills Pithora; plunders Ajmir; leaves Kutb-ud-dīn at Kuhrām, p. 39; advances towards Kannauj, defeats Rāi Jaichand; invades Khwārizm, p. 40; chastises Khokhars and when returning is killed, p. 41 (see also note 1, p. 41).

Mu'izz-ud-din Bahrām Shāh Sultān, proclaimed emperor, p. 77; has Malik Ikhtiar-ud-dīn assassinated; conspiracy of amīrs, p. 78; disclosed by one of the conspirators; conspirators punished, p. 79; Mughals besiege Lahore; governor escapes but Lahore is devastated p. 80; rebel nobles besiege Delhi; imprisoned and executed, p. 81.

Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubād Sultān, sent to Lakhnauti; made Sultān with the title of S. M. K.; he gives himself up to pleasure, p. 119-120; lays the foundation of a castle and garden at Kilokheri; Malik Nizām-ud-din wants to become emperor himself, p. 120; gets Kaikhuēr assassinated, p. 121; orders Malik Nizām-ud-dīn to kill the Mughal amīrs, p. 121; receives letters from his father Bughra Khān, p. 122; meets his father at Audh, p. 123; account of the meeting, pp. 123, 124; farewell advice of his father Bughra Khān (Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn), p. 124; for some days follows his father's advice, p. 127; is tempted and after a time surrenders himself to a beautiful courtesan, p. 128; becomes ill,

p. 129; wants to remove Malik Nizām-ud-dīn; advises his attendants to poison M. N. which was done; becomes paralysed; his infant son is placed on the throne, p. 130; disturbances; killed in the castle of Kilu Khari, p. 131.

Mujāhid Khān, Sultān Sikandar imprisons him, p. 375-376.

Muqarrab Khān, revolts against Sultān Mahmūd Shāh who besieges the city, but later goes over to him, p. 274-275; killed by Iqbāl Khān, p. 278.

Muzaffar Khān Amir, nephew of Shaikh 'Alī, left in the fort of Shur by the former, p. 319; makes peace with Sultān Mubārak Shāh and gives him his daughter, p. 319-320.

## N

Nandā, probably Ganda the Chanda Raja of Kālinjar; S. Mahmūd of Ghazni invades India to punish him, for having slain the Raja of Kannauj who had submitted to him (see also note 1 p. 12); Naro Jaipāl encamps in front of M.'s army on the bank of the Jumna, but is defeated; Mahmūd advances towards Nandā's kingdom; N. collects an immense army but finally escapes with a few followers, p. 12; offers Mahmūd 30 elephants, p. 14; exchange of civility between him and Mahmūd, p. 14-15.

Nasrat Khān, sent with Ulugh Khān to conquer Rantambor; is killed, p. 163.

Nasrat Shāh, ascends the throne at Firozābād with the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Nasrat Shāh, p. 276; agreement with Iqbāl Khān; escapes to Firozābād, p. 277; collects a force and sends Shahāb Khān against Iqbāl Khān, p. 281; retires to Miwāt, p. 282.

Nāsir-ud-din Mahmūd Malik, son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn, defeats and kills Malik Hishām-ud-dīn (Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn of Bengal), p. 59; same as Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, below.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Sultān, ascends the throne, p. 84; makes Malik Ghiās-ud-dīn Balban vazīr; his administration, p. 85; Malik Izz-ud-dīn Balban rebels but submits; marches against Raja Jāhar Deo of Gwalior and defeats him and takes the fort of Nirwar (Narwar), p. 88; conquers Tabarhindah, Uchch and Multān, p. 89; marches towards the foot hills of Bijnor (see also note 1, p. 90); revolt of some amīrs; marches to Hānsi to meet the amīrs; peace established, p. 90; hostility of Kutluḡ Khān, his step-father, and others; sends Ulugh Khān-i-Balban to put down the rebellion, p. 91; disperses the people belonging to the hostile party; Mughals come to Uchch and Multān but retire; private habits, p. 92; death, p. 93.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, title taken by Khusrū Khān (see under Khusrū Khān), p. 204.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, ruler of Lakhnauti, makes his submission to Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlak Shāh, p. 213; sent back to Lakhnauti, p. 214.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Sultān, eldest son of Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh; made governor of Audh by his father; defeats and takes Sultān Ghiās-ud-dīn Khalji prisoner and kills him, p. 66; dies, p. 67.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Kabājah Sultān, one of the slaves of S. M. M. S. (Gh.), early career, p. 47; made feudatory of Uchch; after the death of Sultān Kutb-ud-dīn takes possession of all the country as far as the Sarauti;

great men of Khurāsān, Ghūr and Ghaznī after the overthrow of these kingdoms by Chengiz Khān entered his service; Mughals besieges Multan; war with the Khān of Khalj, p. 48.

Neo Moslem, conspiracy of, discovered: all of them ordered to be slain, p. 184.

Nizām-ud-dīn Auliā Shaikh, very pious and learned man, p. 183 and p. 185.

Nizām-ud-dīn Malik, wants to become emperor, p. 120; gets order for the slaughter of the Mughal Amīrs, p. 121; requested by Malik-ul-Umra to turn from his evil designs, p. 122; poisoned by S. M.'s attendants, p. 130.

Nushaba, name of a person supposed to be a mistress of Alexander the Great, p. 248.

## P

Param Deo, one of the most powerful Rājās of Hindustān, p. 15; S. Mahmūd of Ghaznī avoids him when returning from Somnath p. 15-16.

Parwāris also called Barāns, p. 199, 200, 201, 203 and 204 (see Barāns).

Pīr Muhammad Muza, grandson of Taimūr; p. 276; besieges Uchch; besieges and captures Multān, p. 277.

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Chambal, p. 372; starts on an expedition of war of religion and plunder, p. 373; suddenly attacked by R. of G., is defeated; returns to Agra; marches towards the fort of Uditnagar; quarrels with Jalāl Khān the gov., p. 374; besieges Uditnagar, heroic defence by the garrison, imprisons Mulla Juman, and Mujāhid Khān for taking bribes from the Raja of Uditnagar for turning him away from it, p. 375-376; great scarcity of water and many deaths on the return journey to Agra; marches to capture the fort of Narwar in Mālwah, p. 376; sends order to Jalāl Khān Lodi, governor of Kālpi to go in advance and begin the siege; J. K. shows his army to him, p. 377, imprisons Jalāl Khān, p. 377; Narwar surrenders: Shahāb-ud-din, the son of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din of Malwa comes to his court having quarrelled with his father but the negotiations result in nothing; erects another fort round Narwar, p. 378; returns to Agra; orders the arrest of Ahmad Khān for becoming a pervert to Hinduism; Muhammad Khān grandson of S. Nāsir-ud-din Mālwi seeks his protection, p. 379; Muhammad Khān, is made *jāgirdār* of Chanderi; ruler of Nāgor becomes a feudatory; Agra becomes the capital, p. 380; Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderi renounces his allegiance to Sultān Mahmūd Mālwi and becomes a subject of S. S.; makes a distribution of *jāgirs*, p. 381; takes possession of Chanderi, p. 382; hypocrisy of 'Ali Khān; removes 'A. K. from the governorship of Sul Sulr, p. 383; death; appreciation of his character, p. 384; accessible to the people; God-fearing,

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